1: Marty--1 G-4,5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal
Wolof MS30

[3]

Part I

The Organization of the Murid Confession

793 *Murid* [*Mourid*] is an Arabic word which means "candidate, postulant." In mystical parlance, a murid is a disciple who wishes first to become united with God, and then to attain the rank of spiritual sheik. It is used most frequently in ordinary discourse to designate "student, disciple." The Murids [Mourides] are thus synonymous in this case with the *tolba* or *talibés*.

*795 In Senegal, for about a quarter of a century, this form (and also the forms "Mourites" and "Morites") has come to designate in particular the complete assemblage of the adepts of this new Islamic brotherhood, which the Sérigne [one followed by disciples, the *talibés*] Amadou Bamba directs.

Muridism is thus the body of religious doctrines, moral precepts, and cult practices [4] to which the Murids are bound. This is the division adopted below for studying the organization of this new sect or confession.

128 Chapter One. The persons. The Murids.

Chapter Two. The body of doctrines and religious practices. Muridism.

Chapter I

The Persons (the Murids)

1. Amadou Bamba

793 *795 The Murid sect rests wholly upon its founder and master, Amadou Bamba. It is because they are attracted by his holiness, by his wisdom, by the belief that he is in direct and permanent contact with the deity and is in some way his personification here on earth, that the multitudes have flocked to him and

[4]
793 have chosen him as their pastor and supreme head. It is thus
*[795] fitting to begin this study of the Murids with him.

a. His origins. The fourth ancestor of Amadou Bamba was a Toucouleur [Tukolor] and originally from Fouta. It was he who first settled in Ouolof [Wolof] country, married a local woman, and adopted the mores and customs of his new country. Since that time, permanently settled in Ouolof country and marrying women of this race, his descendants have become naturalized Ouolof. Mballa Mbaké, the grandfather of Amadou Bamba (cf. Appendix No. 3), [5] in the first half of the nine-
[175] teenth century founded the village of Mbaké [M'Backé] in the province of Baol, canton of La, and settled there as schoolmaster. It was there that his son Momar Antasali was born.

The latter at first engaged in his studies with his father. He later completed them under a marabout scholar named
[553] "Amadou Bamba." It was in honor of this venerated teacher that Momar Antasali gave this name to his second son.

[175] During the invasions of the almany [chief] of Salom [Saloum], Ma Ba, the great agitator of Senegambia, the Baol region was devastated, Mballa Mbaké was killed, and Momar Antasali, his son, was deported to Porokhane in Saloum. In order to make a living, he opened a course of Koranic studies which soon gained a large following, and he gave a complete education to all of his children. He became the tutor of Ma Ba's children. It was thus that the young Amadou Bamba (ca. 1865) became acquainted with the political leaders with whom he was to establish an alliance and whose example no doubt inspired his youthful ambitions. He had as a disciple the son of Ma Ba, Saër Matti. The damel [chief], Lat Dior, who had fled to Saloum for refuge, had his sister, Thioro Diop, married to Momar Antasali there.

[175] The submission of Lat Dior and changes in the political situation enabled the former damel to be reinstated in the government of Cayor (1871). Momar Antsali and his family followed him there. After a stay of several years at Potar (Cayor), Momar

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[5 cont.]

793 [175] settled in the province of Guet, canton of Sagata, and there founded a village to which the family name was given for the second time. It became Mbaké-Cayor. He was settled there around 1880, the year of his death. His family continued to reside there.

668 *795 793 b. Curriculum vitae of Amadou Bamba. Amadou Bamba Abiboulaye (from his Islamic name Ahmed, and [6] sometimes Mohammed ben Mohammed ben Habib Allah) first appears on the political scene about 1886 at Mbaké (Cayor). He was a member of the retinue of the perennial insurgent Lat Dior and within this milieu had acquired considerable renown for wisdom and piety. The damel, Semba Laobé, and then his uncle, Lat Dior, who had set himself up anew as a pretender, were vanquished and killed within an interval of a few days (October 1886). The division of Cayor which followed caused Amadou Bamba to abandon any hope of playing a political or religious role. Leaving his disciples and friends, he went to settle at Mbaké (Baol), his grandfather's village, and he himself founded [175] a village called Touba not far from Mbaké.

It was not without reason that Amadou Bamba settled in Baol. This province was then in the throes of anarchy as a result of the weakness of its chief, Thiéacine Fal. The Sérigne undoubtedly hoped that with the support of the Moslem part of [662] the population he would be able to depose Thiéacine and either have himself named chief or have one of his own men put there in his stead. In any case, this was just what happened. Some time later, Tanor Goye, a devoted friend of Amadou Bamba, became tègne [chief] of Baol and during his term of office (1887-1895) was completely devoted to his ally and protector.

The Mbaké-Touba (Baol) grouping now developed rapidly. Disciples flocked in from all sides, and donations poured in. The Sheik taught, and he consecrated marabouts; his fame grew rapidly; he maintained excellent relations with Saër Matti, who was always in dissidence in British Gambia, and served as an intermediary between this old foe of our power and the tègne of Baol.

[6 cont.]

668 It was about then that for the first time the administration
*795 began to be concerned about this incipient movement (late 1888).
793 The establishment of the Sérigne in [7] the bush of the lower Ferlo, between Diolof, Cayor, and Baol, at an equal distance from the Senegal and Gambia rivers, was noted. This geometric point could very easily become the center of a grouping hostile to our influence, and the need was felt to keep Amadou Bamba under surveillance. In any case, charges were being raised against him: families wanted their children back; the native chiefs were complaining. Governor Clément Thomas tried in turn a policy of conciliation and one of strength (1889). He asked the Sheik to send the students back to their homes and to preach calm to his adepts, and he presented holy books to him as a sign of friendship. Going down to his territory, he tried to make him understand that the Moslem religion was discredited by the doctrinal errors of his disciples.

These palavers had no effect, and when the bour [chief] of Diambour pointed out that his territory was the scene of growing disorders, the Governor, "like Noah dismissing Ham," ordered the expulsion from Guet of the Murids, preachers of the holy war who were already assembled under the leadership of Ibra Sar.

As for Amadou Bamba, he adopted the attitude that he has maintained to this day; he wrote the Governor at the beginning of July, 1889, that he "had no need of anything in this futile and perishable inferior world." These first incidents, which at the time (1889-1891) disturbed Diambour, Cayor, and Baol, having been put down once and for all (1891) by the dispersion of the Murids, Amadou Bamba completed his submission and proved his loyalty by a visit to the Governor at Saint-Louis, during which he revealed without hesitation the names of his disciples who had been most involved.

The chastened Sérigne disappeared anew for four years (1891-1895) and did not leave Baol. All was calm again; Diambour especially, to which the bour had formally interdicted access for the Murids, enjoyed the greatest tranquillity.

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668 Political circumstances on the one hand, however (the
*795 death of the tègne of Baol in 1895, the division of this province,
793 and increasingly direct intervention by the French administration),
and, on the other hand, the desire of Amadou Bamba not to remain inactive caused him to leave Touba (Baol) and to fix his choice on the province of Diolof, where the situation was analogous to that in Baol in 1887. The bourba [chief] of Diolof, Semba Laobé Penda, weak, ill, and in disrepute, seemed to be an easy prey for the scheming Sérigne; his succession was virtually open.

Amadou Bamba thus came and settled with 500 talibés
[175] in the canton of Bakkal (Diolof) between Thiéamine and Melekh
and there founded a village to which he again gave the name of Touba (March 1895). At Touba (Diolof) all of his old friends, the warriors of the damel Lat Dior and of the bourba Ali Bouri, deserters, dismissed chiefs, and fanaticized Peul, all soldiers of fortune in search of adventure or ambitious schemers, soon responded to his call. Impressed by this strength and without any loyalty to France, the bourba of Diolof himself, Semba Laobé, came to render homage to the Sérigne in May, 1895, and to ask to be included in the brotherhood.

Again unrest began immediately: disorders in the villages, extortions by the talibés, insults to the native chiefs, refusals to pay taxes. The intervention of the French authorities became imperative, all the more so since Amadou Bamba was said at the time to be making important purchases of weapons and ammunition, gathering people around him, and able to call together more than 5,000 talibés.

It was also learned that the Sérigne, up to that time a Qadri and spiritual son of Sheik Sidia, was also a member of the order of the Tidiania, reputedly hostile to the Christians in West Africa.

Finally, the appearance at Ganado (Diolof) of a false
[798] prophet, [9] who claimed to have come back to life three days
after his death, threw this whole region into great agitation.

[9 cont.]

668 *795 793 The arrest of these two marabouts was decided upon. It was effected without difficulties (August 10, 1895); Amadou Bamba, condemned to political imprisonment by a ruling of September 5, 1895, was immediately put on a ship for Gabon.

He remained there for seven years (1895-1902). It would seem that he should never have returned. During this time, although Muridism did not disappear at least the remoteness of its leader brought perfect calm to the region.

On the pledge of Sheik Sidia, who guaranteed Amadou Bamba's political discretion, the ruling of 1895 was revoked, and the Sérigne was authorized to return to Senegal. He landed there in November 1902. Three months had barely elapsed before unrest began again: the talibés flocked to him; huge donations poured in. It was said that the Sérigne had gone to Gabon voluntarily after praying to God to be put to a great test, and that he had returned of his own free will, outside the administrative channels and with the intervention of the delegate from Senegal. He had first considered returning through the air, with the wings that the Prophet wanted to give him, but out of modesty he had given it up. His reputation was growing; the faithful glorified him; the unrest became general.

Asked on several occasions in May 1903 to come to Saint-Louis, Amadou Bamba dodged every command. "I would have you know," he wrote to the local administrator, "that I am the captive of God and acknowledge no authority but His." To the Governor General, he replied first by begging him not to give heed to slanderers, but to believe in his good faith; then, as the orders to appear were repeated, he feigned illness and claimed that it was impossible for him to go anywhere.

His arrest having been decided upon, the successful arrangements made by Administrator Allys and the efficient assistance [10] of Bour Sine and Cheikhouna, son-in-law of Sheik Sidia, led to Amadou Bamba's imprisonment on 13 June 1903. It should be noted here that at the last moment he was completely forsaken by the people of his village and by his family. When the police force approached Mbaké, his older brother Momar

[10 cont.]
668 came to him in the name of the group and asked him to per-
*795 form the patent miracle that would drive the French away.
793 Amadou Bamba refused to do so. Momar immediately established contact with the head of the column and announced general submission.

Nothing better was thought of at the moment, in order to be rid of the Sérigne, than to entrust him to his spiritual father and protector, Sheik Sidia, who was enjoined to keep him in one of his zaouïa. This is why he was sent to Mauritania, with obligatory residence at Souet-el-Ma (19 June 1903).

This place was too close to Senegal; pilgrims flocked to the Sérigne, and the Governor General briefly considered transferring him to a point farther from the river, such as Fort-Coppolani. Nevertheless, nothing was done about it.

In April 1907, the Commissioner of the Government-general in Mauritania, after noting the good behavior of the Sérigne for four years and his irreproachable conduct during the Trarza and Tagont affairs, asked for and obtained Amadou Bamba's return to Senegal.

He was required to reside at Thiéène (circle [cercle, an administrative district] of Louga) between Louga (65 kilometers) and Yan-Yan (35 kilometers). This spot seemed to be sufficiently secluded and difficult of access to prevent Amadou Bamba's isolation and his personal meditations from being disturbed. A plot four kilometers square was granted to him for his establishment, that of his family, and their crops (April 1907).

[11] Need it be said that the flocking of pilgrims in large caravans, the exaggerated donations which ruined whole families, the frequency of seditious speech, and the gathering together of exalted fanatics again aroused agitation in the area? Amadou Bamba, who in 1907 at Coki had promised not to receive any visitors who did not bear an administrative permit, paid no heed to his promise. An attempt to demand presentation of a tax receipt from all those who came from Thiéène caused nothing but trouble, since the pilgrims never brought this paper with them and, believing themselves to be the

[11 cont.]
668 victims of persecution, protested with all their might.

*795 It finally became clear that Thiéène, although not very
793 isolated as far as Amadou Bamba and his visitors were concerned,
was completely so for the administration and the native chiefs,
who could not exercise the necessary surveillance over the Sérigne's group. It seemed that the best way of suppressing this source of unrest was to remove Amadou Bamba from Thiéène and bring him closer to Baol. This was what he himself had requested on several occasions since 1908. He was thus granted permission to settle at Diourbel.

The journey was made without incident (13-15 January 1912), thanks to the unusual vigor of Amadou Bamba, who, startled to learn that the people of Mbaké were arriving en masse to meet him, crying out "Our Allah returns," refused to see them and cursed all those who should leave their homes.

Upon his arrival at Diourbel (16 January 1912), he wrote to the Lieutenant Governor of Senegal to thank him for the move. He asked but one thing: that, "as at Thiéène, he should have no scarcity of land for his dwellings and his crops; all he needed in this inferior world were extensive grounds on which to live with his family, set up his place of worship, and tend to his crops."

[12] The Sérigne Amadou Bamba remains to this day in obligatory residence at Diourbel.

793 c. Personality of Amadou Bamba. His teachings. His private life. Amadou Bamba is held in general esteem by all Moslems, even those who do not share his beliefs, such as the Moroccans, Moors, and Toucouleur, or the Tidiana. All join in regarding him as a holy man, pious, charitable, of high moral character, and sincere in his belief that he has been invested with the mission of Islamic reform.

My own opinion is more complex. In the religious sphere, I, too, believe that Amadou Bamba is "sincere." Raised in a family environment where learning was a tradition, he is well versed in Moslem letters and sciences. These studies, similar

[12 cont.]

793 in a way to the teachings of the universities of our Middle Ages, all have a religious basis and led to a strengthening of his faith by furnishing him with proofs of the truth of Islam.

In any case, Amadou Bamba believes, evidently because it was granted him to believe, and because this matter of faith, arising most often from personal feeling and natural predisposition, eludes all analysis and explanation.

Finally, there is no doubt whatever that Amadou Bamba is very charitable. Perhaps even, considering his bountiful alms, one might say that he has no personal interest, if one could be sure that this largesse is not deliberate, in order to acquire even greater gifts. If this were the case, it would be the deed of a clever politician and a skilled marabout.

*795 Yet, even though he is a true believer and sincere, even
793 though he now seems to limit himself to the religious sphere
668 and to seek no glory other than that of a saint of Islam, [13] this
182 has not always been the case. There was an auspicious time,
after 1886, when the disappearance of the former political chiefs of Senegal -- damel, bour, bourba, tègne -- left the field vacant for new men, when the prestige of local royalty and aristocracy, which succumbed under the blows of French might, was eclipsed by the strength and truth of an expanding Islam, by the virtue and sanctity of the marabouts who represented it.

*795 Amadou Bamba believed at that time -- and was long
793 convinced of it -- that he was called to restore local authority
668 for his own benefit. He gathered around himself the families of
Lat Dior, Semba Laobé, Ali Bouri, and Ma Ba, and united them with his and with those of his disciples through numerous alliances. All the soldiers of fortune of the old order, all the debris of the courts of the chiefs, flocked to him and to this day live by his subsidies alone.

Amadou Bamba, however -- unfortunately for him -- came too late. He collided repeatedly with the French expansion, which was then at its height. The role of a Hadj Omar, a Ma Ba, an Amadou Cheikhou, a Mamadou Amine, a Samory, was

[13 cont.]

*1795 still possible until 1890, but not since that time. Sérigne Bamba,
1793 although reluctantly, had to admit the fact.
668 One may thus conclude that today Amadou Bamba is limited once and for all to his role as leader of an Islamic brotherhood and propagator and reformer of the faith.

1793 He was once quite subversive in his writings: "All bodies and all hearts are tamed by me. The Whites and the Blacks are subject to me..." "Place all Christians under my authority and protect me against them ... By the virtue of the sura of Roum, make them subject to me as captives ..." His oral teachings, like his writings, now merely aim at proving to the multitudes [14] that he is a prophet and an apostle. He refers to himself as: "He who knows his Lord, who is concerned only with Him, who in his heart withdraws from the goods of this world, the supporter of those who will be saved," and farther on, "Master of the Murids, servant of the Elect (Mohammed), whose Sunna he has brought back to life."

His latest works, as well as those that he is composing, are mere doctrinal works. A survey of these works is given in the next chapter which deals with Muridism.

Finally, it should be noted that great as Amadou Bamba's virtue may be, it does not shelter him from the suggestions of the "Evil One." The flesh is weak, and the practice of asceticism often difficult. He acknowledges this in his writings in the following way: "Grant me, O King of Kings, to master myself, to conquer my passions, without having to devote myself to the ascetic life." -- "By the virtue of the sura of women, lead to me the women whom I have chosen in this world and in the next." -- "By the virtue of the sura of divorce, give me the women I desire, O thee who doest what thou willst." It must be added that the private life of the Sérigne is entirely proper from the Moslem standpoint, and that, not following in this regard the Prophet's example or even that of most of his brothers and disciples, he abides by the canonical number of four wives.

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2. Circle of Baol (Diourbel)

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The circle of Baol is at the present time the area par excellence of Muridism, the area where, owing to favorable circumstances, it has developed widely since 1887. It includes today 33,000 persons affiliated with the sect (cf. Appendix No. 5), that is to say, two-fifths of the Moslems [15] and one-fifth of the total population of the circle. The adepts are not distributed evenly throughout the circle. Nearly all of them being of the Ouolof race, they are found especially in the region to the north of the Thiès-Kayes railroad. They also travel in small groups along the railroad. The cantons with the most Murids are those of Guéoul, Thièpe, Diette-Salao, and La.

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*795

Special note will be made of the centers of 1) Diourbel, 2) Moaké-Darou-Touba, 3) Gaouane, 4) Bambey and environs.

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Diourbel. Of very special interest at the present day as far as the Muridism of Amadou Bamba is concerned, owing to the presence of the Grand Master of the confession in this railroad stop.

The Sérigne -- about 60 years old -- lives in a compound in the same town. His establishment, to this day, is quite curtailed. This state of affairs, which he has prolonged, was evidently a clear indication of his intention to show everyone that his stay there was only temporary.

At the moment things seem to be changing. Since his last promises to the local administration, he has had erected, under the direction of his disciple Ibra Fal, a large and spacious house on a large plot of ground next to the town. He wishes to prove by this gesture, as he has pointed out, that his submission to French authority is unqualified and that his settlement at Diourbel is to be regarded by all as permanent. For the same purpose he has had two of his four wives, who up to now lived at Touba with the rest of his family, come to Diourbel.

Amadou Bamba teaches about 50 pupils at Diourbel itself.

[15 cont.]

793 He is assisted in this task by:

[16] Amadou Diop, Bachir Cissé, and temporarily by the highly educated sheik, Issa Diène, originally from Ndaude.

His principal disciples, those who remain attached to him and who serve him as "missi dominici" are:

Mokhtar Benda,
Abdallah Diao,
Sheik Diop,
Abdallah Diop,
Amadou N'diaye Diap.

*[795] [788] Aside from these devoted followers who are always with him, there are constantly about a hundred visitors and pilgrims of various sorts at Diourbel.

*795 162 The most important and most interesting center of Muridism is made up of the grouping of the three villages of Mbaké (36 kilometers northeast of Diourbel), Darou (5 kilometers farther), and Touba (5 kilometers farther).

These three villages, according to the census records, have a total population of 2,225 inhabitants; Mbaké and Darou appear to be slightly superior in number. They are entirely populated by disciples of Amadou Bamba and are closely united under his spiritual leadership and, in particular, in each village, under the material authority of his representative.

*795 [361] [873] Touba is truly, except for the buildings, a Moslem zaoufa. It is: 1) a center of religious and secular learning, a sort of minuscule university where some 50 students from 10 to 25 years of age drink deep from the springs of Moslem humanities: theology, Koranic studies, law, grammar, logic, rhetoric, and prosody.

[792] 2) A kind of monastery where the talibés work and pray in common under the direction of spiritual leaders. Even at night, in shifts, the disciples gather together and [17] sing matins and lauds with invocations to God and the recitation of odes in honor of the Prophet.

[16 cont.]

*795 3) A center of pilgrimage which is much visited and would
[788] be even more if the soul of the zaouïa were not absent; I mean
the Master, Sérigne Bamba.

Pending a return to Touba, which would seem to be his
[793] supreme goal and his most ardent wish, Amadou Bamba has
stabilized the organization of his zaouïa in minute detail. Even
now, although still without foundation stones, it functions in
orderly fashion.

A small private place of worship, meant for him, rises a
[346] few hundred meters from the central cluster. The latter consists
of a large mosque, a large sandy area surrounded by a double
row of wattle fencing, and three principal, adjacent compounds,
the compounds of the two elder sons of Amadou Bamba, Mohammed
Mostafa and Mohammed Fadel, and that of Masemba, his youngest
brother. These three persons are the teaching personnel of the
[793] zaouïa and are true scholars. The sheik Mbaké Bousso, Doctor of
Islamic Letters, who enjoys the full confidence of Amadou Bamba,
often comes from his village of Darou to supervise the studies at
Touba.

793 Authority at Touba resides in the trinity made up of Masemba, Mohammed Mostafad, and Amadou Fadiama in a balance which remains stable by virtue of the strength of familial and religious discipline.

Masemba, the last son of Momar Antasali and Issa Dièye,
is a half brother of Amadou Bamba. He is a young man of 30,
tall, strong, and attractive, who expresses himself with ease in
literary Arabic. He looks much more like an energetic man than
like an unctuous marabout. His status as the last born naturally
[554] relegates him to the lowest rung, and he seems to suffer from it;
he is searching for his path.

Mohammed Mostafa is the oldest son of Amadou Bamba. He [18] is a teacher at Touba, like his uncle, Masemba. He is a young man of 22, intelligent, attractive, and deserving of notice. He is still at an age when receptivity is great, and everything leads one to believe that it would be possible to exercise on this young mind an influence which can no longer be exerted on Amadou Bamba.

[18 cont.]

793 Amadou Fadiama is the nephew of Amadou Bamba and his confidant at Touba. He seems to be in charge of temporal matters and is often absent on missions, even outside Baol. He enjoys great influence in Sine-Saloum.

[162] [795] Darou, about five kilometers from Touba in the direction of Diourbel, is a village of 700 to 800 inhabitants. It is under the spiritual and material authority of the sheik Mbaké Bousso, brother-in-law of Amadou Bamba (cf. Appendix No. 4). He is the present head of the Bousso family, which is of Toucouleur origin, like that of the Mbaké, and which has been allied with it throughout time.

Mbaké Bousso is a man of 50, very erudite, with quiet manners. He is married to Kadia (Khadidja), full sister of sheik Thioro and half sister of Amadou Bamba. He has a large Arabic library at Darou and writes on occasion himself. He dispenses Koranic teachings to about 60 students, and he often [871] goes to Touba to supervise the studies and even at times to teach there.

*795 [162] [361] [871] Mbaké (Baol), a village five kilometers from Darou, has a population of 800 to 1,000 inhabitants in separate hamlets. It includes a small mud-wall mosque, large and spacious dwelling units, and a school where some 20 pupils receive Koranic teaching. The village chief is Momar Diara, a full older brother of Amadou Bamba, an old man of about 70 with little education and mediocre [19] intelligence. Mbaké has artisans: ironsmith, [463] tailor, carpenter. There is also a trader's shop [boutique de traitant].

The three villages of Mbaké -- Darou -- Touba at the present time constitute the very center of Amadou Bamba's brotherhood. All the inhabitants are affiliated with the sect and work for the Master. A burst of renewed activity has occurred here; much deforestation, even too much, has been done at [241] Mbaké. Plots of manioc, sweet potatoes, tomatoes, and onions surround the villages, and fields of millet and peanuts stretch as far as can be seen.

[19 cont.]

793 [162] Gaouane (canton of Thièpe) is an agglomeration of about a thousand persons and is of interest in particular because of the presence of its chief, Sheik Anta, half brother of Amadou Bamba.

Sheik Anta (his Islamic name is El-Mokhtar ben Mohammed) is a man of about 40, very energetic, and has some education in Arabic, but a scant understanding of French. He caps his reputation as a scholar with a library as well stocked as it is disorderly.

He has never enjoyed a good reputation among the administrators who have known him. Beginning in 1903, Mr. Allys calls him in a report "the evil spirit of Amadou Bamba." At the present time, he is generally regarded as the "cashier of the movement." Even now, the commanders of the circle unanimously regard him as a schemer.

There is no doubt that Sheik Anta has become the most troublesome of the brothers and disciples of the Sérigne through his unending intrigues. His last appearance before the tribunal at Dakar may be cited as proof.

The case in itself has no great importance, but it shows the immoral devotion of the Murids for their Sheik, for everyone knows that Sheik [20] Anta was not born at Rufisque, and also that, in spite of his skillfulness, Sheik Anta is the prey of the lawyers to whom he entrusts himself.

662 793 *795 He has established various relationships with the politicians, businessmen, and traders of Senegal. Well supplied with money, he knows its power. Through these relationships, he influences Amadou Bamba, who, personally obliged by his holiness to avoid all contact with Europeans, feels quite ignorant in these diplomatic matters and willingly relies on his brother -- and on Ibra Fal as well -- to manage relations with the Europeans.

793 It cannot be denied that this "Minister of Foreign Affairs" of the Murids, as he has been called, has acquired through this contact with the Whites a certain practical knack for setting forth and settling problems. In any case, he is not held back by any scruples about impeding the religious mission of his brother. It is easy to see that Sheik Anta has long since ceased to believe in it. Muridism for him is an excellent source of personal exploitation.

[20 cont.]

793 In the world of the natives Sheik Anta has the reputation of a libertine. He will go to any expense to obtain black women -- and even partly white ones, it is said -- who arouse his desire. On this score he has been, and still is, the object of legal complaints before various native courts.

Following some difficulties that he had in Baol, Sheik
Anta deemed it useful ~~to~~ set up a second domicile in Cayor and
[361] very wisely chose for this establishment the center of Niakhène,
25 kilometers north of Gaouane (canton of Mbakol-Cayor). This
village is located roughly at the center of the triangle formed by
Gaouane, Mbaké-Baol, and Mbaké-Cayor. The dwellings are
[491] completed, and a wide road which connects Gaouane and
Niakhène was cleared in a few weeks by the labor of several hun-
[312] dred Murids; [21] it is marked out by the wells of Tiakamy,
Kalou N'diané, and Thielle.

Koranic teaching is dispensed at Gaouane to some 50
[871] pupils. The other talibés work in the fields for the Sheik.

Balla Mbaké (also called Balla Thioro), half brother of Amadou Bamba and full brother of Sheik Thioro, lives alternately at Gaouane and in his own village of Diakhal. He resided several years in the Trarza, near Amadou Bamba, when the latter was confined to Souet-el-Ma. He seems peaceful; he has no children.

Finally, it is at Bambey and environs, Guéoul, Thièpe,
*[795] and Lambaye, that the last of the more important Murid agglomera-
tions should be pointed out. Several very influential sheiks are
there:

[871] Sheik Hafsa, half brother of Amadou Bamba, who teaches some 30 pupils at Diorel.

Gora Bakhouma, a disciple of Sheik Anta, at Tiakhamy.

Amadou Digol, at Keur Amadou Digol.

At Lambaye, two former cadis, Mamadou Silla and Meltoufa Khari, as well as an influential sérigne, Sheik Alioun Diouf, who maintains intimate contact with Sheik Anta and the head of the canton of Joal-Nyiẽ (circle of Thiès, residence of the Petite Côte), the oldest son of Lat Dior.

[21 cont.]
000 The following are attached:

Appendix No. 3. Circle of Baol:

Genealogy of the Mbaké family (Amadou Bamba).

Appendix No. 4. Circle of Baol:

Genealogy of the Bousso family.

[22] Appendix No. 5. Circle of Baol:

Enumeration by canton of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

Appendix No. 6. Cirlcle of Baol:

List of the principal Murid marabouts, their origin, their residence, and the number of their talibés.

3. Circle of Sine-Saloum (Kaolack)

*795 [771] The Murid confession, and along with it Islam, seems to be losing ground in the provinces of Sine and Saloum.

The statistics of the census of 1912 show 200 Murids less than in 1911. In addition, the administrators and the native chiefs are clearly unanimous on this point. Some of the Murids themselves declare that they have left the sect, which they had joined only through ignorance. Finally, other indications seem to confirm this conclusion: the natives who were formerly Murids have removed the obvious symbols of the sect which they wore on their clothing, necklaces of leather and charms hanging on the stomach; the poles of the compounds have been cleared away; pilgrimages are no longer made to Mbaké-Darou-Touba; gifts are no longer sent to the Sérigne.

[22 cont.]

*795 Clearly the reasons for this regression are to be sought as much
[798] in the very pronounced hostility of the native chiefs as in the very
active prosecution of the marabouts in the circle, fomenters of unrest,
and in the harsh sentences which were given to repress the infractions
[793] of which they were guilty. The sérignes Assane Touré,
cidentally publicly disowned by Amadou Bamba (cf. Appendix
No. 9), Ali Penda Lo from Kaffrine, [23] and Makhoudīa Dieng
and Ousman Roudia Lo from Foundiougne are either in prison or
have fled to alien territory. Deprived of its local leaders, the
movement has been checked.

In any case, Muridism in this circle[1] has a special form. One
[621] does not find, as in Baol, entire villages or hamlets intimately
united and living in spiritual and material obedience to the sheik.
Here one encounters, widely scattered and only in certain Islamized
cantons, a few personnages who claim to be scholars and
most often have only a few talibés, sometimes none at all. They
seem to have no influence on the populations, who, largely fetishistic
[791] offer more than passive resistance to the infiltrations of Islam
in general and of its Murid form in particular.

793 Amadou Bamba has never carried out a personal apostolate
in Saloum, his place of origin. He entrusted the task to a few
lieutenants, particularly Amadou Fadiama. It is to the latter,
now the Sérigne's representative at Touba (Baol), that most of
the sheiks in Sine-Saloum are subject, and it is he who organized
the collection of dues in the circle.

The family of Ma Ba, the almany of the Saloum of old, still has congenial relations with the Sérigne. Saër Matti, Ma Ba's son, died about 1910, but his cousin, Ma Ba Aoua, is still alive. He lives in Niomrip, where he has great influence, and regards himself as a disciple of the Marabout of Touba.

It will be useful to comment briefly on the current situation in each residence of the circle.

Residence of Saloum (Kaolack). This residence includes 14 sérignes, all of the Ouolof race, except for two of Sérère [Serer] origin, who were converted directly to Murid Islam. They have

[1] [i.e., Circle of Sine-Saloum--Analyst]

[23 cont.]
793 a following of 54 talibés. Of these 14 sérignes, [24] four are
directly attached to Amadou Bamba, and the others are connected
through intermediaries: three through Ibra Fati, half brother of
Amadou Bamba, who resides at Mbaké (Cayor); two through
Sheik Anta; two through Amadou Fadiama, confidant of the
Sérigne at Touba; and the last three, of whom two are Sérèr,
through local marabouts.

Residence of Sine (Fatick). The residence of Sine includes
21 sérignes with a following of 120 talibés. Of these 21 marabouts,
18 are Ouolof and three are Peul. It should be noted that this
[166] large number is due less to local conversions than to a flow of
immigration from Baol. It is actually toward Gossas in particular,
a railroad stop after Diourbel in the direction of Sine and the
capital of the canton of Maroutti, that the economic develop-
[433] ment of the people of Mbaké-Touba has been directed. These
sérignes are attached to Amadou Bamba either directly, eight, or through
the mediation of his brothers three, or of his disciples, ten.

Residence of Lower Saloum [Bas-Saloum] (Foundiougne). The
single canton of Djilor once contained eight Murid sérignes, all
of the Ouolof race, of whom seven were directly attached to
Amadou Bamba and the last to Amadou Fadiama. They had no
*[795] talibés at all. These people now claim to have abandoned
Muridism.

Residence of Rip (Nioro). The remoteness of the province of Rip has sheltered it from the preachings of the Murids. Only five sérignes are found there, all of Ouolof origin, with a following of 21 talibés. Four of them are attached directly to Amadou Bamba, the fifth to Amadou Fadiama.

*795 Residence of East [Saloum oriental] (Kaffrine). On the terri-
tory of East Saloum, Muridism, according to the testimony [25]
of its leader, is on the wane. The sentences inflicted on Ali

[25 cont.]

W *795 Penda Lo and his disciples for practicing charlatanism, swindles, breach of trust, and various disturbances have cooled the zealots to a considerable extent. W [793] In this residence at the present time there are said to be six marabouts followed by 40 talibés. Of these six marabouts, two are attached directly to Amadou Bamba, one is connected to him through his brother, Amadou Mbaké, and the others through his lieutenants.

W [793] The number of sérignes and talibés in the circle of Sine-Saloum is 281. S [795] [162] Counting three or four women and children per man, one obtains a total figure of about a thousand persons affiliated with the sect of Amadou Bamba, which would represent 1.3 per cent of the Moslems and 0.5 per cent of the total population of the circle.

000 The following are attached:

Appendix No. 7. Circle of Sine-Saloum:

Enumeration by residence and canton of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

Appendix No. 8. Circle of Sine-Saloum:

List by residence and canton of the principal Murid marabouts, their origin, their residence, their spiritual father, and the number of their talibés.

Appendix No. 9.

Letter from Amadou Bamba, dated 9 February 1913, disowning the marabout-agitator, Assane Touré.

4. Circle of Thies

W *795 The Murid confession, which since 1910 has very sharply drawn to Thiés not only the attention of the local administration, but even that of the European traders in the railroad stops, [26] seems today to be on the wane in this circle.

[26 cont.]

*795 793 The reasons seem to be attributable, first of all, to the behavior of the sheik Ibra Fal, the principal lieutenant of Amadou Bamba in the circle, who has shaken the fervor of the Murids with his licentious private life and the scandal of a life devoted more to commercial operations than to religious practices; secondly, to the presence in the area of other marabouts, such as Sheik Bou Kouanta from Keur Bou Kouanta, six kilometers from Tivouane, who attract to them large numbers of Qadria adepts and create the most dangerous competition for the Muridism of Amadou Bamba.

*795 Residence of the Petite Côte (Nianing). Of the three residences which make up the circle of Thiès, that of the Petite Côte (Nianing) contains only a few members, some 50 at Thiombologe in the canton of Nianing and about 200 in the canton of Joal-Ngoē. Here is a living example of the intimate relations that exist between Amadou Bamba and Lat Dior's family. The head of this canton of Joal-Ngo [sic], Bakhane Diop, is the eldest son of the former damel. He denies being a Murid personally, but all his sympathies are with the members of the sect. He was host in 1911 to the missus dominicus of Amadou Bamba, Baba Diakhoumpa, the dismissed cadi of Cayor-Baol, whom the native authorities had expelled from the Sérère provinces for his swindles and his improper propaganda. As head of the family, he has married off his sisters and female cousins to Murid sheiks:

His sister Senne Coumba Mandakhe, born in Saloum shortly after the conversion of the damel to Islam, to Momar Coumba Gissé, now at Diourbel in the Sérigne's retinue;

His sister Coumba Sakhé to Sheik Cissé Touré, who lives at Maha (Cayor),

[27] His sister Coumba Tiélémane to Sheik Ibra Fal at Thiès. Ibra Fal has already established her in his compound at Diourbel.

His cousin Lala Fal to Sheik Ibra Fal as well.

[162] Residence of the Sérère Provinces (Fissel). This residence is by far the one most affected by Muridism, and this solely in

[27 cont.]

*795 the canton of Diobas which adjoins Baol. It should be noted, 162 however, that the adepts in large part are immigrant or native Ouolof and that there are very few Muridized Sérère. Of a figure of 4,300 Murids, the number of Ouolof may be set at 4,100 and that of the Sérère at 200. They are distributed chiefly in the two villages of Khabane and Tassette.

793 One should note especially: at Khabane, the three scholarly and influential sheiks, Amadou Ndoumbé Baké, a cousin of Amadou Bamba, who resides in the village of Keur Amadou, has assembled a large number of talibés and is the representative of the Sérigne in the area and an ardent missionary of Muridism;

Abdoulaye Diao, who has a group of 80 talibés at Keur Sérigne Abdoulaye or Dialakh;

Issa Diène, a native of Ndaude, who founded in this residence a village named Touba, and who now preaches at Diourbel itself, alongside the Sérigne Bamba;

At Tasette, the sheik Ma Diop, who resides at Keur Madiop, where he has some 30 talibés.

In the canton of Sassal, there is said to be only one marabout, Amadou Lamine Mbaye, with about 30 talibés.

Residence of Thiès. The residence of Thiès is of great interest in the matter of the Muridism of Amadou Bamba, not so much because of the number of members as because of the presence of Sheik Ibra Fal.

This sheik is the principal lieutenant of the Sérigne at Thiès. [28] He is a man between 45 and 50 years of age, with little education, whose ancestors were originally from Kébémer, where he himself was born. It was Kébémer that he left, some 25 years ago, for Mbaké-Cayor where Amadou Bamba was at the time, and he became his disciple. Since that time, Ibra Fal has lived several years at Saint-Louis and six years at Ndaude. He has been at Thiès for four years, drawn, he says, by the agricultural wealth of the land.

[158] Ibra Fal has an unattractive appearance which does not work in his favor. With his tics, his nervous laugh, and a kind of

[28 cont.]

793 [158] delirium tremens that makes him shake, he might be taken for a "simple-minded" man. It must be taken into account, however, that he was one of the first disciples of Amadou Bamba, when no one had any inkling as yet of the Sérigne's nascent fortune, which shows some perspicacity. Since that time he has always attended, with as much intelligence as persistence, to the increase of his wealth. He might be called the "Minister of Economic Affairs" of the Murid confession. He owns houses in Saint-Louis and Dakar and land grants at Thiès, Diourbel, Ndaude, and Kébémer. He has set up trading posts in several railroad-stops and has them managed by his disciples and his wives. *795

793 The supervision of his commercial activities is not his only concern. He has the adepts, under the surveillance of one of his disciples, cultivate enormous fields of peanuts, millet, and various grains, and he cleverly attends to the sale of the produce.

793 He has set up a large garden of fruit trees in his village of Darou Baffé near Thiès and has had planted there mango, banana, guava, papaw, lemon, and orange trees, which he procured from the tree nursery in Saint-Louis. He insists that one visit it and not forget to relay the fact to the higher authorities.

All this activity unquestionably shows a keen sense of business and much opportunism.

[29] These qualities, being exercised in a very human realm, are most detrimental to the religious development of the confession. The large number of commercial lawsuits which the sheik is compelled to engage in for the sake of his business affairs does little to enhance his prestige as a marabout.

[361] The residence of Ibra Fal, Darou Baffé or Keur Ibra Fal, located about one kilometer from Thiès in the fork of the Dakar -- Saint-Louis and Thiès-Kayes railroads, is the only Murid center that merits mention. In this village 500 persons live closely united in a dozen hamlets containing about 100 huts. [162]

[871] Three teachers, all Ouolof,
Mokhtar N'diaye,
Amadou Tcham, and

W [29 cont.]

793 801 Amadou Khodja Guèye, mediocre scholars, offer Koranic teaching and some elements of grammar to about 75 young talibés from 6 to 15 years old. After this age, Ibra Fal no doubt believes that professional apprenticeship is much more beneficial to them, and out of this commendable sentiment he sends them into commerce or to work in the fields.

These students are lodged in a dozen huts, with 4 to 12 in each one. They have the most diverse arrangements for sleeping: European beds, sofas, mattresses, pallets, mats, or low beds [bas-flancs] of reeds or poles.

W 361 [346] W [787] Darou Baffe, in its central quarter, also contains two mosques, that is to say, two reed enclosures with small central pavillons, one of which is roofed with corrugated iron. One of these mosques is for daily prayers, the other for prayers on Fridays and feast days.

[30] Directly alongside are found the sheik's living quarters, a hut made of planks and adorned with furnishings of various sorts, then a few fruit trees, and finally a small hut serving as his private place of worship.

The main entrance to the quarter is blocked by the well-stocked store, made of planks, of a disciple-trader. This compels one to walk through the store in order to enter the village of the sheik. This grocer's entrance has symbolic value.

W 793 The influence of Sheik Ibra Fal is felt outside the circle of Thiès at all the stops of the railroad from Cayor to Louga.

S SR 795 W *795 One matter which is particularly deserving of note is the possible spread of Muridism into the territory of the Sérène race, less as Amadou Bamba's particular sect than as an Islamic confession. Heretofore the Sérère have resisted any radiation of Islam into their territory because of their attachment to their traditional beliefs. The Murid sheik, however, knows how to work himself in; he knows how to adapt Islamic doctrine to the needs of the moment. He permits the neophyte to preserve in full his own way of life, particularly his drunkenness, provided that he make the Murid act of faith. Once enrolled, the

S
Sr [30 cont.]
795 new "brother" finally succumbs to the influences around him and,
W after entrusting to the sheik his immortal interests, finally places
*795 into his hands the direction of his material life as well. This is the first breach made by Islam in the fetishistic block.

Let us hasten to add that it is very small because, as has already been mentioned, of the two residences of Thiès established in Sérère territory, one, that of the Petite Côte, has only a handful of Murids, while the other, that of Fissel, contains a strong Murid group only in the canton of Diobas. [31] This group consists almost entirely of a vanguard of Ouolof immigrants from Baol. There are only 200 Muridized Sérère, among whom there is but one important personnage.

W
*795 The total number of Murids in the circle[1] seems to be 5,080,
S which represents one-fifth of the number of Moslems and one-
162 seventeenth of the total population of the circle.
795

000 The following are attached:

Appendix No. 10. Circle of Thiès:
Genealogy of the Fal family (Sheik Ibra Fal).

Appendix No. 11. Circle of Thiès:
Enumeration by residence and canton of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

Appendix No. 12. Circle of Thiès:
List by residence of the principal Murid marabouts, their origin, their residence, their spiritual father, and the number of their talíbés.

5. Circle of Cayor (Tivaouane)

W
*795 The circle of Cayor (Tivaouane) constitutes, along with Baol (Diourbel) and the canton of Diobas (Thiès, Residence of Fissel), the center par excellence of the Muridism of Amadou Bamba.

At the present time, the circle is very nearly Islamized in its entirety. This Islamization was effected some 50 years ago

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[1] [i.e., circle of Thies --Analyst]

W [31 cont.]

*795 through the preachings of marabouts who came from Toucouleur territory via Diambour. W [793] These persons, whose names still live in the memories of scholars, [32] are: Mokhtar Doumbé, teacher of Momar Antasali (the latter being the father and teacher of Amadou Bamba);

Mamaka Kane, from his village of Sine Lèye Kane, and Semba Cor, from Tivaouane, spread Islam in Saniakhor;

Aboulaye Si, apostle of the Mboul.

It was especially the influence of Ma Ba, elimane of Saloum, that was decisive, however. His fiery preaching and his calls to holy war drew many natives to him. The triumph was complete on the day when the damel Lat Dior sought the support of Islam for the sake of his cause. His conversion was followed by that of his subjects, whom he commanded, like all Black rulers, to embrace his religion.

W [798] At the present day the circle is divided between Tidiania and Qadria, and the adepts of these two Moslem religious orders regard each other more as mutual heretics than as co-religionists belonging to two orthodox brotherhoods.

W 793 The Tidiania are subject to Si El-Hadj Malik, a marabout well disposed towards our influence.

The Qadria, in small numbers, are attached to Sheik Sidia (brotherhood of the Qadr[illegible]-Lessidia), to Sheik Saad Bouh (brotherhood of Qadria-Fadelia), to a very influential local marabout, Sheik Bou Kounta, who resides at Keur Bou Kounta, six kilometers from Tivaouane, but in major part especially to the Qadri Muridism of Amadou Bamba.

* W 795 S 795 [162] The circle of Cayor seems to merit special attention as far as Islam is concerned, first of all, because of the number of Moslems, 134,000 out of 140,000 inhabitants, or 27/28ths of the total population, but especially because of the budding efflorescence of Muridisms which await only a favorable occasion in order to develop to the same extent as that of Amadou Bamba, and also because of the nature of the religious sentiments of these newly W [668] Islamized people. It [33] would seem that in this Cayor area, which was the center of the stubborn resistance of the Ouolof race

[33 cont.]

W *795 668 to our domination, the natives became converted to Islam merely in order to find a basis for passive resistance on different grounds.
S 795 The most loyal among them, the Tidiania of El-Hadj Mali or the Qadria of Sheik Bou Kounta, remain neutral; the indomitable ones hasten to join the Muridism of Amadou Bamba, because this religious leader, friend and marabout of the former damels and obviously aspiring to succeed them, has been set up as a kind of representative of the sentiment for the former independence.

S 795 W *795 The approaching loss of Sheik Bou Kounta will raise the problem of spiritual succession and a declassing of members. It would be well to watch this brotherhood from now on and to have a very clear political course. It seemingly would not be advantageous if the Qadria Murids of Bou Kounta, upon his death, were to augment the number of the Qadria Murids of Amadou Bamba.

S [162] The number of the Bamba Murids in the circle[1] is about 28,000 out of 134,000 Moslems and 140,000 inhabitants, which represents one-fifth of the total population, and obviously one-fifth of the Islamized population.

W *795 793 Province of Saniakhor. The principal Murid villages are: Maummou, near Piré; Ngouï and Médina in the canton of Mbar. Médina is under the spiritual leadership of an aged and influential marabout: Mabèye Bèye. This sheik, the son of a sérigne who was formerly influential himself, Ibra Bèye, and of a Lebbou mother, joined the Bamba brotherhood some six years ago. He had formerly met Amadou Bamba in the entourage of Lat Dior and Semba Laobé, where he was a marabout. He is a rich farmer who has brought together 200 or 300 disciples and followers in the Mekhé area. A friend of Ibra Fal, he maintains close relations with this sheik.

[34] Keur Momar Ovarka, the village of the sérigne Momar Ouarka Khan. The latter gathers about 60 talibés around him, half of whom follow his Koranic teachings.

[1] [i.e., Circle of Cayor -- Analyst]

[34 cont.]

*795 [793] All the stops on the line, Piré, Goureye, Ngaye, Mekhé, Kelle Ndaude, Kébémer, Goumbo, and Guéoul, are in part under the spiritual and especially the economic sway of Sheik Ibra Fal, who is a native of Kébémer. This sérigne sends his disciples from Thiès there for visits and inspections.

Province of Mboul-Mbakol. Important Murid groupings may be noted in this province:

793 [891] At Afla, a village under the spiritual leadership of the sheiks Momar Mbaye and Madonne Samba. The former dispenses Koranic teachings to some 28 pupils and is surrounded by a hundred disciples.

At Darou Tendin, a village established by the sheik Ngagné Tendimé of Moorish origins.

At Ndiob Botol, where the sheik Ndiaga Diop has about 40 talibés.

*795 Province of Guet. The province of Guet is most interesting as far as the Muridism of Amadou Bamba is concerned, for this is where it originated. It was actually at Mbaké (Cayor), a village founded by his father, Momar Antasali, that the Sérigne took refuge in late 1886 when the downfall and death of Semba Laobé
[175] and of Lat Dior scattered the last partisans of the territory's independence. The following year he penetrated deeper into the interior and settled at Mbaké-Touba in Baol, but Mbaké in Cayor was never neglected. He often returned there and saw to it that the village at all times maintained its reputation as an intellectual center.

[162] [793] [891] Today it is still a very prosperous agglomeration of 700 inhabitants (306 huts -- 16 compounds), where [35] under the leadership of Sheik Ibra, half brother of Amadou Bamba, and of several teachers, Ibrahim Sal, Momar Dème, Saer Diané, some 30 pupils study the Koran and grammar. The village inhabitants are all Bamba and work in the fields for the Master, thus providing him with considerable wealth.

[35 cont.]

793 Ibra Fati was born at Porokhane in Saloum at the time when Momar Antasali was confined there by the elimame-almany, Ma Ba. He is about 45 years old, is the father of six children, and is Amadou Bamba's representative at Mbaké (Cayor). He is very learned and has always been the close confidant of the Sérigne.
*[795] It was to him that in 1903, when he left for Mauritania, he referred those of his disciples who wanted either to be taught or be taught and to work in the fields at the same time. As for those who wished merely to work in the fields, they were referred to Sheik Anta. Nowadays, of all of his brothers and disciples, he is undoubtedly the one whose behavior is most like that of the Master. The multitudes realize this, and it has long been said that Ibra Fati was the appointed successor of Amadou Bamba.

With regard to French authority, he is very reserved, never passes judgment on its actions, and is very deferent to the orders of the local administration. It must be added, too, that he never makes any overtures. He stays within his role of religious sheik and teacher, which does not prevent him from directing the temporal matters at Mbaké-Cayor with great skill.

In the canton of Sagata (Guet), the former cadi Baba Diakhoumpa now lives in the village of Mbaro. This personnage, like all of the former agents of the administration who surround Amadou Bamba, is obviously a Murid only in name. He is sometimes employed as a political missionary by Amadou Bamba, and these services provide him with his means of subsistence.

000 [36] The following are attached:

Appendix No. 13. Circle of Cayor:
Enumeration of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

Appendix No. 14. Circle of Cayor:
List by province of the principal Murid marabouts, their origin, their residence, their spiritual father, and the number of their talibés.

[36 cont.]

6. Circle of Louga

W *795 S 795 [162] The circle of Louga is now completely Islamized. Four peoples, Ouolof, Peul, Toucouleur, and Moors, share its territory. Each of these peoples, in conformity with sociological laws, understands the doctrine and prescriptions of the Prophet according to the peculiar spirit of its race, and adapts them to its traditional institutions, but all claim to be Moslems in the religious realm.

Up to the end of 1911, the circle, or more specifically the province of Diolof, was an ardent seat of Muridism. The reason for this, however, was factitious. It was simply the presence of Amadou Bamba at Thiéène which provoked this unusual unrest.

When the Master left (January 1912), the disciples followed him. No more pilgrims were seen, and it can be stated that the influence acquired over the local populations was practically W [793] null. Today in the entire circle one could hardly point out 300 Murid sérignes and talibés, who represent a thousand persons affiliated with the brotherhood of Amadou Bamba. If it is noted S [162] that the circle contains 106,000 inhabitants, or [37] 106,000 Moslems (cf. Appendix No. 15), it will be seen that the proportion of the Murids is 1/106 of the Moslem and total population of the circle.

W 793 Only a few of the marabouts merit special mention in each of the five provinces which comprise the circle.

Province of Diolof. The province of Diolof is headed by a remarkably intelligent and energetic chief, Bouna N'diaye, who understands perfectly how to obtain the allegiance of all his subjects, no matter what their Islamic confession may be. The most important sérigne in this province is Khali N'diaye of W [871] Ouolof origin, who has a hundred talibés-workers at N'diayène and dispenses Koranic teaching to a dozen students.

Province of North Diambour [Diambour septentrional]. North Diambour is no longer of much interest. There are about

[37 cont.]

793 130 talibés there, grouped under the leadership of some 15 sérignes. Sheik Ibra Sar, who has brought together about 40 disciples, is the most important of these sérignes. His reputation extends beyond Diambour, and he enjoys a certain renown for wisdom and piety within the sect. Following Amadou Bamba's *[995] confinement in Gabon, Sheik Ibra Sar withdrew to the circle of Thiès, where unfortunate quarrels with the natives brought convictions for several of his disciples. He teaches nowadays at Thiarème and maintains a proper attitude toward the authorities. As a reminder, Amadou Gaye from Nidiagne, who married a daughter of Amadou Bamba, might also be mentioned.

[361] This village of N'diagne merits attention in any case: located on the border of the two Diambours, it is the homeland [891] of four or five sérignes and the center of several Koranic schools; it seems to be an Islamic seat of some importance.

[38] The state of affairs in the province, which is competently headed by its chief, Socé So, is quite satisfactory as far as the Murides are concerned.

Province of South Diambour [Diambour méridional]. Some 50 sérignes and talibés, such is the balance sheet of Muridism in South Diambour. Only two names are to be noted, more for their wealth and the esteem they enjoy than for their religious influence: Assan N'diao at Durou, who is fairly well educated; Ibra Kebi, a retired trader with little education, at Louga itself.

Special mention should be made here of a half brother of Amadou Bamba, Sheik Thioro, whose official residence is at Louga. Sheik Thioro, named thus after the name of his mother, Thioro Diop, a daughter of Lat Dior, is an intelligent and educated man, but licentious and devoid of all scruples. He exploits his brother, Amadou Bamba, and the Murid confession with as much mastery as he "devoured" those amenable to him when he was cadi at Louga -- this was why he was dismissed. He has a multitude of wives, legitimate or otherwise, at Saint-Louis, at Louga, in Cayor, and in Baol; and their number, not at all canonical, scandalizes Murid believers. This prodigal

W [38 cont.]

793 brother is a source of worry to Amadou Bamba, who nevertheless shows him great partiality and gives him large sums of money, which are soon spent. This Murid of fancy, however, this Sheik Thioro, is still not content. He puts on airs, flirts with the businessmen and traders of Senegal, and offers his services to the administration. All this bustling in a vacuum is quite harmless, for no one takes Sheik Thioro seriously.

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*795 *Provinces of N'guick-Mérina and Gandiolais.* As one draws away from the Murid crescent which borders the Ferlo on the west, southwest, and south, [39] Amadou Bamba's influence vanishes. Thus, the provinces of N'guick-Mérina and Gandiolais are almost

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[793] free of it. There is said to be a total of 80 *sérignes* and *talibés* in these two provinces, which represents a maximum of 250 persons under the spiritual authority of Amadou Bamba. No personality merits special mention.

000 The appendices attached are:

Appendix No. 15. Circle of Louga:
Enumeration by province of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

Appendix No. 16. Circle of Louga:
List by province of the principal Murid marabouts, their origin, their residence, their spiritual father, and the number of their *talibés.*

7. Dakar and Saint-Louis

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*795 For the sake of completeness, the small number of Murids

369 living in Dakar and Saint-Louis should be pointed out. There

S

795 are about 140 in Dakar and 130 in Saint-Louis.

369 These Murids are not even inhabitants of the city, but im-

[162] migrants from Baol, Cayor, and Diambour; Dakar, indeed, is too

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W
*795 [39 cont.]

369 busy a city to lend itself to religious propaganda, and Saint-Louis
S is too enlightened a Moslem center to accept the doctrinal fancies
795 of the Murids.

369 They are there as laborers, usually without their families,
[166] sent by their sheik to earn money. They work as porters on the
W quays and especially as makers and sellers of mats for the use of
[463] the natives. [40] In Dakar, they also work as water vendors in the Black quarters, and in Saint-Louis as vendors of firewood or
S of fodder for the many cows fed in the city.

W
[166] When winter draws near, most of these talibés return to their country of origin to engage in the tasks of preparing the land and
W of sowing.

793 In general they are under the spiritual authority of Sheik Ibra Fal. He himself goes to Dakar. He is represented in Saint-Louis by Amadou Guèye.

Sheik Ibra Fal owns several compounds and various buildings in both Dakar and Saint-Louis.

Sheik Anta owns a handsome house in Dakar, in the Rue Raffenel, purchased for 28,000 francs from a native and now rented to a Moroccan trader named Madani El-Qtiri.

Conclusion

In this study of the cadres and the faithful of the Murid order, there ought to be included, aside from Amadou Bamba and the principal lieutenants already mentioned, a large number of local marabouts who have not all been taught by Amadou Bamba, but who, some of them possibly out of personal conviction, others out of self-interest and in order to keep their believers who were drawn to the new movement, have joined the order of the Sérigne and have become his vicars. To these should be added the chiefs of villages or factions, notables in quest of authority or prestige, clever traders who skillfully manage their commercial affairs and their spiritual interests.

W [40 cont.]
793 The sheiks and sérignes who have some influence were given in
W special listings by circles. (Cf. Appendices No. 6, 8, 12, 14, 16.)

*795 To summarize, the number of persons affiliated [41] with
S the order of Amadou Bamba may be set at 68,350. (Cf. Appen-
162 dix No. 2: General enumeration of the Murids by circle.)

If one deducts from this number the wives, children, and old people who are Murids because the head of the family is Murid, there remain some 10,000 adepts, mature men who are voluntarily attached to the Sérigne or to his lieutenants.

W As for the number of students of all ages who are actually
[871] receiving some sort of instruction, it does not seem to exceed a thousand.

W The Murids, except for some who, as has been said, are
*795 gathered in Dakar and Saint-Louis, are concentrated in a zone of habitation that is shaped like a crescent. (Cf. Appendix No. 1: Geographic schema of the Murid confession of Amadou Bamba.) This Murid crescent follows the Ferlo on the west and south, with its lower point in East Saloum, and its thickest part formed by the circles of Cayor (Tivaouane) and Baol (Diourbel) and a fraction of the circle of Thiès. The inner curve follows the line of demarcation between the steppes of the Ferlo and the cultivated areas; the outer curve follows roughly the Dakar -- Saint-Louis and Thiès-Kayes railroads and overlaps only slightly to the west and south of these lines.

In conclusion it should be added that this word Murids, as used to designate the talibés of Amadou Bamba, is not liked very much by the Sérigne. He himself likes to call them the "Bakīīn," meaning both the people of M'bakê (his zaouīa) and the disciples of M'baki (himself). In French we would say "Bakïites."

[42]

Chapter II

The Body of Doctrines and Religious Practices

(Muridism)

*795 178 Muridism, to designate by one word the body of religious doctrines and practices of the Murids, must be regarded as a kind of new religion born out of Islam. Its founder, Amadou Bamba, is obviously a learned Moslem who can borrow at will from canonical writings the sound doctrines of orthodox Islam. But he is also a visionary. Under his contemplative's pen and in his traditionless teachings, this doctrine is transformed into a vague mysticism, where the religious principles of Islam are not given in their true sense nor expounded with the rigor of Eastern scholastic. Once Amadou Bamba had laid his foundations, his immediate disciples, the sheiks consecrated by him, developed them with the zeal of illiterates and the extravagance of neophytes; the Black mentality did the rest.

Although Muridism may thus be regarded first and foremost as a religious brotherhood affiliated with the Qadria, one must hasten to add that this movement goes far beyond the religious orders, proper associations where pious Moslems seek through supererogatory prayer and the merits of the communion of saints a greater certainty of reaching Paradise. It is also more than one of those heresies, so rife in Islam as in all religions, where the rationalism of some and the mysticism of others distort the original doctrine and give rise to sister confessions, independent leaderships, [43] and an innovating spirit, but nevertheless follow a path parallel to the original teachings.

Here, we have Islam completely vagrant. This will be easily shown by a detailed study of 1) the dogma, 2) the moral precepts, 3) the ritual practices, and 4) the religious order of the Murids.

[43 cont.]

1. The Dogma

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Orthodox Islam is not a philosophical religion established through proper demonstrations and the evidence of reason. It is an intuitive religion to which one clings with all his might through an act of faith coming from the heart. This simplicity has had various consequences depending upon the region involved. In the East, when philosophy seizes upon religious doctrines and studies them in the light of reason, it gives rise almost immediately to heretic sects. Here, in the extreme western part of Africa, this simple Islam propagated among the Black peoples, whose mentality is essentially different from that of the Semitic races, is adopted without difficulty, but is transformed, or rather distorted, as soon as it is adopted. This is what happened in the case of the Muridism of Amadou Bamba, which might be defined as "Islam for the use of the Quolof." Nothing is easier than to make an act of faith, and even to make it with sincerity, but when all of the religious action is limited to this, and all of the former social life and even religious life continues to hold sway over a people, it is obvious that the original orthodoxy suffers, and that the practical result is the rise of truly new confessions on a foundation of Islam.

[779] The dogmatic bases of Moslem law may be reduced to three: the oneness of God, prophecy, and the future life.

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[44] God. For Amadou Bamba and the more learned of the Murid sheiks, the concept of God is quite similar to that of the Moslems: "God is a high spirit, one, endowed with every perfection, absolute master of all things, creator of all that exists: heaven, earth, animate and inanimate beings." This soon leads, however, to the kind of pantheism characteristic of the beliefs of the Blacks: God is all; all is God. All phenomena, tangible or otherwise, are manifestations of the Deity. Amadou Bamba is the Elect, the visible representative of God on earth. Thus all guidance must come from him, the necessary intermediary between the deity and man. The uneducated masses carry this

[44 cont.]

*795 distortion even further. There is but one supreme Master in the
776 universe: Amadou Bamba. They worship this God who deigned
to become man and to dwell among us; it is a true divine incarnation. What a gap, and what is there in common, between these crude beliefs and the dogma, so full of light in the mind of the Prophet, of the Oneness and of the divine spirituality!

*795 Prophecy. The concept of the Prophet Mohammed is over-
[792] laid by an equally thick veil. Aside from the sheiks who understand fairly accurately the mission of the Envoy and believe in it as good Moslems, the people are completely ignorant of the existence of the Prophet. There are no envoys other than those to whom the Master, Amadou Bamba, has transferred his baraka and conferred the power to cast it upon the faithful. The sacred
[788] formula of Islam is not unknown: "There is no god but God, and
[198] Mohammed is his prophet." It is recited blindly by these Ouolof, however, in an incomprehensible and uncomprehended Arabic, like a verbal and mysterious charm. Amadou Bamba is "the greatest, and Sheik Ibra Fal is his Prophet," a Murid told me in Cayor. No one could better [45] borrow the tenets of Islam and, once emptied of their contents, fill them with local beliefs.

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*795 The future life. Since the concepts of the deity and of the Prophet are so obscure among these pseudo-Moslems, one can easily understand the heresies they commit in their eschatological beliefs. Mohammed believed in a final resurrection, in a last and universal judgment, in the full immortality of the human being, restored body and soul, in a future life where the righteous would find, along with admittedly quite material pleasures, a certain joy in the beatific vision of God, and where the wicked would be punished for their offenses in the infernal circles located underneath the world.

With the exception of three or four learned men who, having read these teachings in the Koran and its commentators, have adopted them without much accuracy, the mass of the

[45 cont.]

775 *795 Murid people have no conception of their ultimate Islamic destination. Many adepts seemed surprised that one should think of the other world and confessed that this was unknown to them. Others imagine the future life as a continuation of life on earth with its material pleasures and revelries, which unfortunately one cannot indulge in every day in this inferior world. Finally, the remainder — those of simple faith who do not think -- merely leave it to Amadou Bamba without further comment.

*795 792 The Mahdi. One final point must be elucidated before closing this study of Murid dogma. What conception do the adepts have of the Mahdi, this Messiah, more unorthodox than Koranic, in whom belief is so widespread in the Moslem world and who is expected to come one day to convert and subject the entire world to Islam? Again, this query is met with universal ignorance. [46] Some hear the name for the first time; others ask for an explanation and, when they get it, exclaim respectfully: "But that is exactly the description of Sérigne Bamba!" It is thus evident -- and this conclusion also follows from several conversations with Amadou Bamba -- that this Sérigne neither believes himself to be nor pretends to be the Mahdi.

2. Moral Precepts

*795 While Islamic dogma is very hazy in the minds of the Murids of Amadou Bamba, the prescriptions of religious morality are even more rudimentary.

The Prophet's moral precepts, however liberal, have been subjected to precise regulations, both in the Koran and in the oral teachings handed down by the Tradition (Sunna). They are based on prayer, fasting, alms, pilgrimage, and the holy apostolic war. Good Moslems follow these prescriptions very faithfully and apply them in their most exalted sense.

Now, Amadou Bamba also has splendid moral exhortations in his writings. One of his works, la Clef qui ouvre le paradis

[46 cont.]

*795 et ferme l'Enfer [The Key that Opens Paradise and Closes Hell], even reaches great heights:

"Learn to pray in order to please God, do not learn to pray in order to do so with ostentation.

"Be polite, say your prayers, give to those who ask, do not be wicked. He who keeps all his goods to himself and does not give to the poor will suffer before his death...

"Do not touch women, do not go to them...

"Now, my friends, we must wage holy war on souls; ...

"Ask God's forgiveness for your sins ..."

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[47] Aside from these very elevated teachings, however, there is a practical morality for Mourid khouan which consists of surrendering oneself completely, body and soul, to his marabout, through which one is released from all moral obligations, from all religious observances. No more prayers, no more fasting, no more continence; everything is permitted provided that one remains faithful to the sheik and through him to the supreme Sérigne. The latter's holiness is so great, his redeeming baraka so effective, that, like evangelical charity, "it covers a multitude of sins."

With such moral doctrines, one might fear the worst private debauchery. Nevertheless, this is not the case. The marabouts maintain strict surveillance over the members, the excesses of the masses are soon suppressed, and in any case, since all goods, all sums of money, are remitted or forwarded to the local sheik or to the Sérigne, it is difficult to imagine with what means the adepts could devote themselves to even the most inexpensive pleasures. The most powerful curb, however, is undoubtedly the harsh obligation to work like animals, which the sheiks impose upon the Murids and which the latter accept with a curious readiness. Here, the spirit of Amadou Bamba's doctrine agrees with the teachings of the most ancient moralists: "Always keep the spirit and the body occupied."

It is, of course, the surest way, perhaps, of attaining Murid holiness, but also of not having disreputable debaucheries committed, and surely of filling the marabouts' coffers.

[47 cont.]

*795 It is thus impossible to conclude that Murid morality is a practical adaptation of Islamic morality for use by the Blacks; this would be an injustice to Islamic morality. If, indeed, there is such a thing as Murid morality, it may be summarized in the saying attributed to the founder of a modern Christian confession: Pecca fortiter, crede fortius (Sin strongly, but believe even more strongly).

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3. The Cult

*795 782 The Islamic cult, private as well as public, is quite rudimentary: five daily prayers preceded by ablutions; on Fridays, noontime prayer in the mosque; many recitations of the chaplet; on feast days, a few sacrifices which are rather crude and which in no way evoke the awesome sense of immolation as it was understood in antiquity and as it is understood by Christianity. That is all.

Now -- the fact is symptomatic -- it is in the matter of cult, and furthermore in its most external aspects, that the Murids, and certainly the other Blacks, are most Islamized. This cult is quite well organized at Touba. The muezzin gives the call to prayer at the canonical hours, and everyone stops his work in order to meditate. People even gather once a day at the mosque, usually in the evening. This mosque, the sanctuary [346] par excellence of Muridism, is a mere enclosure of reeds, diaka; it has neither minaret, or pseudo-minaret, nor a pulpit (minbar), neither a panel for the imam (mihrab) nor an ablution basin. Elsewhere, life is not organized in such monastic fashion. The faithful are much less devout and merely pray at dawn and dusk. Furthermore, these prayers are not "intimate and familiar conversations with God," but the recitation of two or three Arabic formulas which are not understood and which are not liturgical.

Finally, as far as the masses are concerned, there are no regular prayers. From time to time, especially on Fridays, the faithful go to stand behind their marabout and, with their eyes on him, awkwardly copy his every gesture, every position of his

[48 cont.]

*795 body, rising when he rises, [49] bowing when he bows and,
782 naturally, reciting absolutely nothing. This is what is called
"to salaam." It is this wholly external salaam that leads those
who see it into the error of believing that these natives are
orthodox Moslems. Aside from the will to believe, which they
evidently possess, and this superficial gesture, one might ask
in what way these newly Islamized are the sons of the Prophet.

*795 The mosques usually consist of a sandy square, surrounded or
[346] not by a wattle of reeds or boughs (diaka), sometimes by a straw
hut, and very rarely by a small hut made of planks (diouma).
None of the accessories, however rudimentary, of ordinary
mosques are found there. There is no muezzin to give the call
to prayer at the holy hours, no imam to preach and to lead the
[793] prayers. It is either the Murid sheik or a neighboring marabout
who comes here out of piety, and all gather behind him.

Women are admitted neither to the mosque nor to public
[562] prayers. The reason given to me was that "Women are unclean.
[783] Let them pray at home if they want to!" Men generally
[782] believe that women have no need to pray, obviously not because
their sanctity makes it unnecessary, but because they are inferior
beings, and that prayer is not required of such humble creatures.

*795 The two great religious feasts of Islam are known: "The
796 feast of the sheep" (Aïd el-Kebir), which is called Tabaski;
the feast of the breaking of the fast (Aïd Sér'ir), which is called
Kori. A few learned men are not unfamiliar with the Achoura
(tenth day of the month of Muharram, feast of the new year),
here called Tankharet, and the Mouloud, the birthday of the
Prophet. They celebrate them with a repast more copious than the
usual one.

*795 Religious instruction is given in the Murid world, as among
871 all Islamized peoples, in so-called [50] maraboutic or Koranic
schools. These schools are quite numerous and are found nearly
everywhere. As is known, the school is one of the principal means
of the diffusion of Islam, and every Moslem of some learning who
settles in a populated center immediately sets up his place of

[50 cont.]

*795 871 worship and adds a small school to it, and, in view of the prestige of knowledge in the eyes of the Blacks, he is certain to have pupils immediately. The Murid sheiks skillfully utilize this means of propagation for their sect. They have Koranic schools opened in every center where there is a gleam of some hope of success and install there a pseudo-scholar who can hardly read Arabic, who is totally unable to interpret any author whatever, and who limits himself to enumerating, as he was taught, the mysterious suras of the "Book."

*795 194 [871] These teachers in the marabout schools are all Ouolof who speak and understand only their mother tongue and pronounce the Arabic language with the greatest difficulty, owing to lack of practice. Some letters, such as the H' (ح), the A (ع), the Kh' (خ), the Ch (ش), cannot be pronounced by them. It is for this reason that Europeans, even Arabists, and sometimes [104] the Moors, eventually adopted a special system of transcription for Black names of Arabic origin.

Ahmed (Ahmadou)	becomes	Amadou
Mohammed	"	Mamadou
Ma'mar	"	Momar
Sheik [Cheikh]	"	Sek

*795 871 The pupils are usually children from 8 to 15 years old. In the large schools of Mbaké -- Darou -- Touba (Baol), Chabane (Thiès), and Mbaké (Cayor), one finds young men from 15 to 25 years old. They have finished their study of the Koran, that is to say, they know it by heart without understanding it, and are taking courses in grammar, law, Koranic exegesis, and even logic and prosody. They come from every part of the Ouolof country.

[51] The time of the pupils -- large or small -- is not devoted wholly to studying. The marabouts put them to the most varied tasks and make them earn their living. They go into the fields, work the land, fish, and gather firewood and straw. They

[51 cont.]

*795 871 study regularly only in the evening, at nightfall, by the light of small fires fed by the supply of fuel gathered that very day.

During the winter season and during the harvest, courses are suspended, and everyone works in the fields.

4. The Bamba Order

*795 It is in the realm of religious organization that the Sérigne Bamba has shown the greatest originality, and it is indeed the sole realm in which he could do so, if he wanted to remain, in the eyes of the world, on the path of Moslem orthodoxy.

Doctrine of the Bamba way. While affiliated with both the Qadria and Tidiania orders, Amadou Bamba has founded a third religious order. It is particularly the Qadria way that seems to have inspired the Bamba moral doctrine. These precepts can be summarized as follows: contemplation by the soul and applying all of its contemplative powers to the majesty of God, ending in [786] religious ecstacy; an intimate fusion of the person in the deity. This annihilation in God is actually a copy of the ecstatic mysticism dear to Sidi Abd El-Qader, but in this case there is none of the restraint which the renowned saint of Baghdad included in his [181] teachings. The usual exaggeration of the Blacks impinges on everything.

For Sidi Abd El-Qader, "happiness consists in being oblivious to existence." Amadou Bamba also preaches this disinterestedness, this renouncement of the things here below. [52] He claims it for himself in all of his correspondence; he preaches it in his sermons and in his writings. "Be like the little donkey laden with millet, who does not eat of the burden he carries."

*795 785 793 He goes further and extols the virtues of deprivation, and especially of attachment to the spiritual sheik. "Bear hunger patiently; do not wear handsome garments; follow your marabout with the persistence of a lion following his prey, with the speed

[52 cont.]
*795 of a vulture diving upon the carcass it has discovered in the bush.
785 Follow him as the dog follows his master, like a sly cat." He
793 unceasingly recommends, and in the most varied ways, which, as can be seen, do not lack poetry, that one never follow his impulses, but blindly obey his sheik, without thought, without argument. His goal is clear: to break the disciple's will, to tame his spirit. It is no longer the monastic vow of obedience; it is the total annihilation of all the faculties, of all the voices of conscience, into the will of the spiritual Master.

The brothers and lieutenants of the Sérigne naturally go even further and in practice draw the ultimate conclusions from the leader's doctrine: Murids should detach themselves from the goods of this world by surrendering them to the Saint, and to themselves, his official intermediaries. This is the best way to resist temptation.

*795 As far as ecstatic union is concerned, some of them perhaps,
786 more refined and gifted with special mystical faculties, may attain this dream state, "these flowered gardens" where man completely loses his individuality, and -- like Pythia on her tripod -- feels himself overwhelmed by the divine power: "The God, here is the God."

For the masses of the Murid, however, there is no stimulation of the noble faculties of the soul. The mere sight of Amadou Bamba praying or dispensing blessings, the spurt of his saliva on [53] the bowed faithful, throw some into hysterical fits in which all want to participate. They roll about at the feet of the Saint, kiss his shoes and the hem of his boubou [robe], stretch out their hands to him. With compunction he lets a spurt of saliva fall into these open palms, which are closed, clasped together, and tremblingly rubbed on the face and body of the believer. Then there are the shudders, swoons, and epileptic convulsions, followed by extraordinary contortions and leaps, all accompanied by horrendous howls. Madness finally seizes everyone. In the midst of this cacophony, one hears the most terrible curses and the most ardent calls of love. God is abused; the

[53 cont.]

*795 786 Prophet and the Saints are dragged through the mud; Paradise is reviled and Hell glorified; no one any longer knows what he is saying. Fusion with the Most High is so complete that the sounds emitted by the human mouth lose all significance. The coldest temperaments, those most averse to general ecstasy, are no less ardent in these manifestations. They indulge in all these hysterico-religious fantasies with all the more enthusiasm because they are less affected by them.

In short, these scenes which recur on certain days and in various places are in no way mystical, either in their causes or in their effects. The Black mentality is totally incapable of
[181] producing the metaphysical concepts of the Eastern Semites and the ecstatic divagations of the Sufi. These scenes are nothing but a communal act of prayer and worship, soon followed by dances, jigs, choreographic fantasies, and bamboulas dear to the Blacks, under a pious pretext.

*795 793 The spiritual chain. With greater modesty than many leaders of religious orders, Amadou Bamba does not claim to be related to the Prophet through an actual genealogical chain. He [54] does not claim any nobleness as a sherif, but, through his mystical chain, he is connected with Sidi Abd El-Qader El-Djilani and, through this saint, to the Prophet, to the archangel Gabriel, and to God.

*795 178 The rise of the "Way" of Sidi Abd El-Qader (Qadria) in the twelfth century is well known. This order, now the most widespread one of Islam, seems to have undergone the same fate as Moslem civilization: a rapid and continuous expansion, and constant branching off. From the twelfth to the fourteenth century, it was propagated as far east as China and west to Morocco. Almost immediately, the local zaouïa, without breaking off completely with the metropolitan at Baghdad, but preserving only the spiritual chain and part of the ritual of the original order and modifying at will the doctrines of the saintly founder, became regional and independent sub-brotherhoods.

[54 cont.]

*795 178 Thus, in the sixteenth century, an offshoot, the Qadria of Azaouad, under the influence of the sheik Omar El-Bekkaï, gradually became a new order, the Bekkaïa (also called Azaouadia or Mokhtaria, or even by their ethnic name, the Kounta). The Bakkaï order spread across the western Saharan territories to the ocean. In Mauritania at the beginning of the nineteenth century, it in turn gave rise to independent branches: Fadelia (Sidi Mohammed El-Fadel, then Ma El-Aïnin); Lessidia (Sheik Sidia El-Kebir, grandfather of the present Sheik Sidia). This reproductive process seems to be nearly finished for these two brotherhoods, which appear to be in full flower today.

At the end of the nineteenth century, however, through the initiative of Amadou Bamba, the Lessidia brotherhood gave birth in its turn to a Senegalese and Black branch: that of the Bamba Murids. It is this religious phenomenon which is now unfolding before us. The Bamba Murids are thus a branch of the Lessidia, as [55] the latter were of the Bekkaïa, and as these are themselves derived from the original Qadria. They may be said to be Qadria -- and they themselves claim this honor -- if this term is given the meaning used in the twentieth century and not understood as a religious province dependent on the mother zaouïa in Baghdad.

*795 793 178 Thus, in the spiritual chain which joins Amadou Bamba to God one will find all the founders of the branches which have been enumerated:

The present Sheik Sidia, through whom the Sérigne has his affiliation (he pretends not to regard as valid a somewhat strained affiliation granted him by a marabout, El-Hadj Kamara, around 1890 in Saint-Louis).

Sheik Mohammed, father of Sheik Sidia.

Sheik Sidia El-Kebir, father of Sheik Mohammed and founder of the Lessidia.

Sheik Mokhtar El-Kounti.

Sheik Omar El-Bekkaï, founder of the Bekkaïa.

And, finally, Sidi Abd El-Qader El-Djilani, founder of the Qadri order.

[55 cont.]

*795 178 It is on these grounds that he bestows both the original Qadri order, regarding himself as a spiritual heir of Sidi Abd El-Qader, and his own order, regarding himself as the founder of a new "Way."

But this is not all. It would seem, although the founder of the Murids denies it, that he also belongs to the order of the Tidiania and is thus joined through another mystical chain to Sidi Ahmed Et-Tidjani. It is obvious that Amadou Bamba is acquainted with the suspicion that is felt in West Africa toward the Tidiania, among whom our policies have encountered more foes than friends, and he hastens to say that he has nothing in common with them. Yet, public rumor has him endowed with the Tidiani ouerd, and, furthermore, his disciples are all quite familiar with the ritual of this order.

[56] Moreover, Amadou Bamba seems to draw inspiration from the same processes of religious expansion as Sidi Ahmed Tidjani. It is known that this saint was long affiliated with the Qadri, Khelouati, and Taïbi orders, and that he himself bestowed the ouerd of these "Ways." Following some revelations he abandoned them all, and, claiming to be an apostle of the Prophet, he propagated only his one way, superior to all and leading without any possibility of error to Paradise (1781).

Similarly, Amadou Bamba, of Qadria and perhaps Tidiania affiliation, and who formerly bestowed the ouerds of these orders, now limits himself almost solely to leading the members along his own path.

In any case, it cannot be said that Amadou Bamba sought in Tidianism an element of hostility against the Christians. He certainly had no goal other than to increase his prestige through affiliation to an order which is quite widespread here, and which, being extremely exclusive, is never bestowed on the adepts of any other path. Amadou Bamba is an eclectic; he makes his bouquet out of all the flowers that perfume his path.

*795 788 Ritual. There do not seem to be any special and mysterious initiation ceremonies in Amadou Bamba's brotherhood. When

[56 cont.]

*795 788 a Murid has shown by his qualities and his devotion that he is worthy of belonging to the order, Amadou Bamba or one of his lieutenants bestows the ouerd upon him, that is, the permission to utter, following the prayers at dawn and dusk, the special formula of the order (dikr) in spiritual communion with all the brothers.

This dikr, a kind of litany, is quite similar to that of the Qadria as far as the text is concerned. Only the number of invocations differs considerably.

"I seek forgiveness from the God of Majesty." (300 times.)

"May God be glorified." (300 times.)

[57] "There is no god but God." (300 times.)

"O my God, pour out your blessings on our Lord Mohammed, on his family, on his companions. Grant them salvation!" (Cf. Appendix No. 18.)

As the disciple advances along the path of sanctity, the sheik permits him to double the number of these litanies; he must thus repeat them 600 times. A few additional genuflections and professions are also imposed.

[796] There is no solemn dikr (Dikr el-hadra or djellala) recited by the assembly of the faithful on Fridays and feast days.

793 Hierarchy. The hierarchy of the Murid religious order is simple: at the top, Amadou Bamba, founder and supreme leader of the brotherhood, pivot of Islam, representative or personification of God on earth; below him and far removed, the sheiks, both those gathered at Diourbel and those scattered in the zaouïas and work villages, who are the priors of the order; on the lowest level, the multitude of members, the masses of the Murids, the students and laborers first, the women and children second.

Amadou Bamba is the sole master, and it is upon him that the entire structure of the order rests. It should be noted, however, that he is not always fully obeyed, especially by his brothers, who are far from having complete faith in his divine mission. Since, however, it is their union with the Sérigne that brings them power and profit, they are careful not to carry things too far.

[57 cont.]

793 The sheiks (the mokaddam of other brotherhoods) are the Master's lieutenant and either assist him in his functions as teacher and religious leader or direct groups of talibés. They can bestow the murid ouerd, but cannot consecrate sheiks on their own level.

793 *795 [58] As for the multitude of adepts, they are recruited from all ranks and in all milieus. I have already stated that the Murids are almost solely of Ouolof origin. Some of them are peasants who come to the Sérigne out of a religious need and a natural indolence, out of the need to have themselves enrolled in a mystical organization and united with the brothers in Allah; the others -- incidentally, those who become agitators -- are adventurers, deserters, discharged officials, former chiefs who were overthrown, dismissed servants, etc. They merely seek in Muridism the means to live as comfortably as possible.

*795 Conclusion. Such, in their totality, are the doctrines and practices of Muridism, an Islamic brotherhood in appearance but actually a new sect, born out of Islam and through its stimulus, and flourishing today chiefly within its province and to its detriment. If a comparison is permitted -- and comparisons are always defective -- Muridism might be put vis à vis orthodox Islam in the same position as those extraordinary sects of America, which are Protestant in name only, vis à vis Christianity as a whole.

Muridism has retained a certain number of the articles of faith of Islam, and especially many of its external practices and sacred formulas. This is what sometimes gives it an orthodox 798 *795 appearance, but good Moslems are not deceived, and their indignation runs high in the face of such heresies. Since these good Moslems, however, are either sheiks of Mauritanian zaouïas or Moroccan traders in ports and railroad stops, and since the Murids are invariably generous believers for the former and important customers for the latter, this indignation is not expressed too strongly, and a useful contact is maintained with these "ignorant and innovating, but sincere and well intentioned" neophytes.

[58 cont.]

*795 [59] Other Moslem Blacks are in the best position to appraise at their just value the religious doctrines of Muridism. 798 The quotations that follow will bring to a fitting close the first part of this study by showing the general feeling of the Senegalese Moslems concerning the Murids of Amadou Bamba.

"They are prejudicial to the Moslem religion, which, without observing its rules, they don as wolves would don the skins of sheep." (Letter from Tivaouane to the Lieutenant-Governor of Senegal, 25 February 1905.)

"Under the cover of religion, the sectaries (followers) of Amadou Bamba live exactly like the Damels and Bours of old." (Amadou N'diaye, head of the province of East Saniakhor.)

And from the same person: "I wonder where Amadou Bamba, or rather his sheiks, found in the religion a text permitting the formation of this army which calls itself Moslem and which actually consists only of the wreckage of the former tiédos [members of an upper class], who can no longer live, thanks to France, at the expense of the badolos [common people]."

[60]

Part II

The Influence of Muridism and Islam

771 The Islamic religion in general and its Murid form in particular have had a noticeable influence on the life of the Ouolof 177 natives. Nevertheless, this influence is not as strong as might be expected from a religion as absorptive as Islam, which is as much a body of juridical and social doctrines as an assemblage of divine commandments concerning the supernatural life of the soul. There are matters, especially those concerning the institutions of customary law and the practices of social life, where this influence is very slight. In the economic realm, on the other hand, and from a political and administrative standpoint as well, the Muridism of Amadou Bamba has led to very strange

[60 cont.]

771 consequences which are well worth notice.

177 Let us, then, examine successively the influence of Islam and of Bamba Muridism:

1. on the juridical institutions of the natives;
2. on the social conditions of the natives;
3. in the economic realm;
4. from the political and administrative standpoint.

[61]

Chapter I

Muridism and the Juridical Institutions of the Natives

671 It would be an enormous task beyond the scope of this study to give here all of the Ouolof juridical customs; it is among this people alone that the Murids are recruited. With the help of notes gathered in the five circles mentioned earlier, only the general customs in this enormous mosaic of "customs, usages, and styles" of all the provinces will be extracted. In any case, the differences are less numerous than they might seem at first sight; they are mainly in matters of detail, or they are due to the more or less pronounced Islamization of a group or a family, but it is easy to confirm that a true unity of conception has presided over the formation of the institutions of customary law among the Ouolof and that -- which was the goal pursued -- this conception is peculiar to the race and has little in common with the spirit of Moslem law.

1. Civil Institutions

611
177 A. The family. The family is now undergoing change. The old conception (which still exists integrally among the Sérère tiedos, where the bond of kinship, vinculum juris, is established through the maternal line [tige]) and [62] the patriarchal conception of Islam and of European civilizations are both in force

[62 cont.]

611 among the Ouolof. Descendants in the paternal line bear the name [177] of guényo; those in the maternal line the name of mène.

The family based on the paternal line seems to be the social unit among the people (badolos), but the members of the female line are nevertheless united among themselves by certain bonds and especially by magico-religious prohibitions (mbagne).

611 565 [428] Among the nobles, both types of family exist -- or at least used to exist -- simultaneously. In some cases, it was through the maternal line that authority and political rights, prohibitions, and the property of the family were transmitted; in other cases, it was through paternal filiation; in other instances -- and this was the case in general -- it was through a combination of both [177] filiations (1). On this point, our ignorance about native traditions causes more of these old customs to fall into desuetude every day, and they are, of course, replaced by the prescriptions of Moslem law.

595 596 [604] It would seem, therefore, that the head of the family is the father, but the authority of the maternal uncle is considerable and sometimes offsets that of the father. Then, too, the "reduced family," father, mothers, and children, does not live in isolation. The family is "whole," that is to say, it is made up of an assemblage of two or three generations descended from the same ancestor and living together in compounds.

581 602 [428] Marriage is also a legal bond, and the parents-in-law, children-in-law, brothers-in-law, and sisters-in-law are indisputedly part of the family, but this bond does not entail any right of inheritance.

595 Within the compound, the husband has his own hut where he lives alone and where each of his wives comes in turn. Each

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1. For further details, cf. Légendes et coutumes sénégalaises [Senegalese legends and customs], by Henri Gaden (in Revue d'ethnographie et de sociologie, 1912).

[62 cont.]

595 wife [63] is also provided with a hut, which belongs to her and where she lives with her children.

[593] The wife must follow her husband, but this obligation is limited; a woman cannot be compelled to follow her husband to lands too far away where she would elude the surveillance and care of the family.

B. Marriage. While polyandry is totally unknown, polygamy is common. According to the data gathered, the proportion of polygamists among ten married men is as follows:

Four have only one wife;
Three have two wives;
Two have three wives;
One has more than three wives.

A young man does not marry several women at once; he remains monogamous for about two or three years. It is only after this period of time that he looks for a second spouse.

The wife seems to be quite jealous and is always reluctant to agree to be associated with co-spouses. In any case, they want to be consulted about choosing them. Since the acquisition [556] of a wife is always an expensive matter, it is usually the wealthiest and oldest men who are polygamous.

584 Betrothal merges somewhat with the preliminaries to marriage. As a simple promise of union on both sides, it has no legal validity, and its rupture does not entail any legal consequences.

581 The conditions required for marriage are: on the man's part, to be of age and to possess goods sufficient to acquire and support 582 a wife. Men seldom marry before they are 22, 24, or even 25 years old. In wealthy families, however, younger children are [584] married. The woman must be of age and must have her relatives' consent. Young girls are married at about the age of 14.

595 [64] Impediments to marriage spring almost solely from kinship. A man can marry his sister-in-law, his wife's sister, but only if this sister is younger than his wife; sisters older than his [587] wife are barred to him. A man can marry his sister-in-law, the wife of his deceased brother, but only if this brother was older than he;

[64 cont.]

595 [587] the wives of his younger brothers are barred to him. If the marriage is licit, the widow, especially if she has children, is prepared to marry the brother of her deceased husband, both in order not to be separated from her children and so that they will not be taken away from their father's family. A man may 582 not marry his aunts, the sisters of his father or his mother, or an aunt by marriage, the repudiated wife or widow of his father's brother. Nothing prevents him from marrying his aunt by marriage if she is the repudiated wife or widow of his mother's brother, but this would be regarded by his relatives as very bad.

Impediments to marriage -- whether they emanate from the relationship by marriage or from lack of the consent of the girl's relatives -- are not invalidating. When the possession of the state and a certain lapse of time have consecrated these ill-regarded unions, they are eventually accepted and have the same consequences as legitimate unions.

Differences of race or religion do not constitute an impediment to marriage. But while pious Moslems do not like to give their daughters to the tiedos, the latter, who seem to entertain a veritable hostility against Islam, are even more averse to giving their daughters to Moslems.

584 The young man who wants a young girl first talks to her and then, once certain of the situation, he sends his father or his mother to make the official request to the girl's parents. Meanwhile, he sends one or several of his friends to the said parents in order to sing his praises in warm terms and to try to judge the probable answer according to their attitude.

[65] In the case of a favorable answer -- and this answer is given by common consent by the father, by the mother, and [583] by the maternal uncle -- a set amount of 21 francs and 25 centimes in cash is paid by the suitor. This amount, called tak, is the girl's property. It is often provided by the sisters of the bridegroom. It constitutes the first bond, the pledge of marriage. From this moment on, the girl is definitely betrothed, which does not mean that the consummation of the

[65 cont.]

584 marriage is possible, but that the *vinculum juris* exists between her and her family, on the one hand, and the suitor on the other hand.

583 Discussion of the marriage portion follows: its amount, which varies between 250 and 5,000 francs, is determined in friendly fashion between the relatives. Only a part of this sum, however, often a very small part, is paid at this time. The rest remains due, in principle to be paid after the consummation of the marriage, but in practice at the husband's death or in case of unjustified repudiation.

This marriage portion must be paid before witnesses. It is the property of both the girl and her relatives: of the girl who is surrendering herself to a master, of the relatives who are entitled to fair remuneration for the expenses and costs of all kinds [231] incurred for the girl's training. In most instances, one or several oxen have to be presented to the girl's relatives, so that here, too, there is justification for the name that Homer gave to the young virgins of Greece, αλφεσιβοαι, "those who bring in oxen to their relatives."

In addition, the suitor, according to his means, makes gifts of friendship to the girl: jewelry, clothing, cattle, kola, money.

585 In the marriage ceremonies, no distinction is made between religious ceremonies and civil ceremonies. Noisy drumming one day announces the hour of the gathering to friends and acquaintances, who were previously notified. The relatives of the young people and they themselves have [66] purchased kola nuts which are distributed to those present. There is dancing and eating in turn, and then everyone goes home, the newly married couple like the others. In pious families, a religious ceremony is added to this simple gathering. The procession proceeds to the place of worship, a sandy area sometimes surrounded by wattling. A neighboring marabout, a friend of the family, is asked to come and recite some verses from the Koran, for example, the Fatiha, three times, which, of course, no one understands. Then everyone returns to the festivities. Neither of the two spouses is there. They are represented by their relatives.

684 [66 cont.]

837 While the duties of mutual aid and support are enjoined upon
the spouses, that of conjugal fidelity does not exist. The woman
[593] alone owes complete fidelity to her husband. Adultery on her
part is frequent, however. It is regarded as a transgression, thus
a misdemeanor, by her and her accomplice. The latter must be
punished by imprisonment and by a fine, which are determined
by the gravity of the circumstances surrounding the offense. The
adulterous woman is punished with a minimum fine of 250 francs.

The husband, not subject to any obligation of fidelity toward
his wife, cannot commit adultery. The natives often say: "If
[584] the woman does not like her husband's escapades, she should refund
the marriage portion and leave." This question of adultery,
so delicate in other Islamized territories, is not taken too seriously
here. Most husbands, either because they are fond of their wives
or because they fear the difficulties that result from separation, will
keep an unfaithful wife. A flogging with stick or a reprimand by
blows with a rope restores their injured pride. Those who are
[586] punctilious send her back and keep her property until she has returned
the 21 francs and 25 centimes, the marriage portion, and
the gifts.

586 C. Divorce. It is well-known how important a place [67]
795 divorce has in Moslem law, and how strongly the Prophet's disciples
remain attached to this institution as it was established by orthodoxy.
Among the Murid Ouolof, divorce is found, but it is a
genuine customary institution which has nothing in common with
Moslem divorce.

586 Here the two spouses have absolute equality. The right of each to repudiate the other spouse is identical; the same applies to their duties. There can thus be distinguished:

The repudiation of the wife by the husband;
The repudiation of the husband by the wife;
Divorce by mutual consent.

When the husband repudiates his wife, he need not give her any reason; he announces his intention to her, pays her the outstanding part of her marriage portion, and sends her away. The

[67 cont]

586 procedure is the same for the repudiation of the husband by the wife; she returns everything she has received from him, leaves the conjugal hut, and withdraws among relatives or friends.

In the case of litigation over money, the case is taken before
[692] the village tribunal of conciliation and, if agreement is not reached there, before the subdivision tribunal; the latter decides this question of a material nature, but is not in any way concerned with the dissolution of the marital knot. The break was achieved by one of the two spouses notifying his wedded partner of his wishes and by the material separation.

In the case of divorce by mutual consent, the spouses themselves, before they separate, settle the pertinent financial problems.

The most common causes of divorce are: on the woman's part, her disobedience and her bad character, sometimes adultery; and on the man's part, his jealousy or failure to support his wife.

Divorce is very frequent; one hardly [68] ever meets a man who has lived all his life with only one woman (monogamy and indissolubility of marriage); one more often meets polygamous men who have always lived with one of their wives, usually the first.

[604] Children belong in principle to the father, but the maternal uncle always has the right of supervision over them. Since
[862] children are nursed for two years, boys remain with their mother at least until they are two years old, and the girls at least until they are six. It is only at this age that the father can take them back. This is a strict rule. Young children do not leave their mother, even if the dissolution of the marriage is due to her bad conduct. Moreover, the mother subsequently has the right to see them as often as she wishes.

587 In case of divorce, as in the case of widowhood, respectable women submit to a period of waiting for a few weeks. Nothing compels them to do so, and in reality many women spend just enough time in their father's home to contract a new marriage. A few of the more religious fathers of families impose on their

[68 cont.]
587 daughters a delay of three months in case of divorce and a delay
of four months and ten days in case of widowhood.

It should be noted that in this matter of the dissolution
675 of marriage, as well as in the formation of the union itself, there
177 is no official intervention of the two honorable witnesses (adoul) as
586 prescribed by Koranic law any more than there is any drawing up
of the marriage contract or act of repudiation by the minister of
[693] the cadi. The role of this magistrate, and even his name, are
familiar only to a learned elite.

851 D. Filiation. The Ouolof differentiate quite clearly be-
848 tween legitimate and natural filiation. Moreover, the latter is
[835] known only as simple natural filiation; [69] incest does not exist,
and in case of adultery, the old rule applies: Is pater est quem
justae nuptiae demonstrant [the father is presumed to be the
mother's legal husband.]

593 The child is under the authority, first, of his father and,
604 secondly, of his maternal uncle. There is no cause that could entail the forfeiture of this paternal or avuncular authority. The pledging of the child to put him in servitude, even temporarily, is strictly forbidden.

848 The child is a form of wealth that has no equal. If he is a
684 natural child, he belongs to the mother; this is a right accorded
[858] to her by custom. It is not an obligation. Custom does not consider the possibility that a child might be abandoned by its parents; it only considers the possibility that the two of them might fight over it and grants it to the mother as a favor. It is thus necessary to conclude that if the mother is unable to attend to its needs and if by a very slight chance the father does not furnish the necessary provisions, she can have recourse to the court to constrain him to do so. There is obviously no question of an a priori legal investigation of natural paternity. The child, if he is abandoned by the father -- a very rare occurrence -- simply becomes attached, according to the old custom, to the family of the mother. The latter, whose only wish is to keep him and who finds the father's sentence for a food allowance sufficient, does not try to obtain a reckoning which would deprive

[69 cont.]

848 684 her of the child. Nevertheless, nothing in the spirit of the customary law would prevent the child from proceeding further on this course and having the bond of filiation that ties him to his natural father legally affirmed. That this is not done is no proof that such legal action is impossible. It is merely a right that these wholesome peoples have never wished to use and probably never had occasion to use.

It is thus improbable that the full enforcement of the law of 16 November 1912 should cause any difficulties in [70] Ouolof territory. The right of investigation granted to the child will be exercised in practice only in the case of Europeans already subject to French law. And in reality, as long as the spirit of the old custom prevails, this right will never be used, especially if the natural father takes all the measures practicable to ensure the maintenance of his natural child.

By virtue of the same reasoning, the legal acknowledgment of natural paternity does not exist in practice. The parents keep and raise the natural child; this is the best way of acknowledging him in the eyes of everyone, and possession of him entails his legitimation. The old French saying is perfectly applicable here:

To drink, to eat, to sleep together,
Is marriage, it seems to me.

597 Adoption is unknown as a formal contract. It sometimes happens that a man without offspring takes under his care and raises as his own child one of his nephews or nieces. In such cases there may arise a sort of psychological paternity, which, of course, may have repercussions in the testamentary dispositions of the adoptive father, but custom does not grant any positive rights to the adopted child.

671 429 E. Incapacity. In customary law, incapacity arises for two reasons:

Minority;
Insanity.

[177] Bankruptcy and insolvency, wastefulness, weak-mindedness,

[70 cont.]
671 and certain legal infractions which are treated at length by
429 Moslem law are not regarded here as sufficient causes for inter-
177 diction.

The minor, that is to say, the child who has not reached
429 the age of puberty, is under the care of a guardian. Majority
[884] and puberty are synonymous. Puberty is recognized by physical
[881] signs: for [71] boys, the awakening of sexual desire and his
first campaigns on the road to love; for girls, the definite appearance of the first menses.

This guardianship devolves by right on the surviving parent,
[604] and, lacking them, to the mother's brother. It should be noted
that in the first case the latter plays a very active supervisory role. If there is no maternal uncle, the closest ancestor or relative is entrusted with the guardianship. If, in a quite rare case,
[622] the child had no relatives at all, the village chief, after consulting
with the notables, would entrust the guardianship to a friend of the deceased father. It is permitted for the father or mother on the deathbed to entrust the child more particularly to one devoted individual. This kind of testamentary guardianship, which is more a moral matter, is usually respected, but it does not necessarily entail the customary guardian's renouncement of his rights.

The minor under a guardian becomes the child of the guardian and is entitled to the same care as his own children. He has the duty, when he grows up, of working for his guardian.

The latter has special obligations vis-à-vis the property
of the minor. The presence of French authority and the care
[177] with which it provides for the protection of orphans have little by
little brought some order into the matter. When the guardian takes charge, a record of the deceased's property must be made in the presence of witnesses and of the delegate of the president of the tribunal. The child's share is carefully established by the inventory. The guardian manages this property as he wishes; he will give an exact account of it when the child comes of age.
[692] He is responsible for the management of it. If a problem arises

[71 cont.]
429 when the accounts are rendered, the litigation is taken before
692 the subdivision tribunal.

It is not a matter of emancipation as a consequence of
884 the identity of the states of majority and puberty; majority
occurs automatically as soon as the child reaches the age of
puberty.

429 [72] Interdiction due to insanity is now governed by the
734 new custom based on the prescriptions of French authority.
[177] Formerly, in cases of clear-cut insanity, the natural guardian
took over the management of the insane person's property, in
[622] co-operation with his children who had come of age. The
village chief supervised this management. Nowadays, the
[692] subdivision tribunal is immediately notified, and it takes the
necessary measures after having communicated the facts to the
administrator. The rules for the guardianship of minors apply
in general for the guardianship of insane persons.

In both cases of incapacity, the president of the sub-
[692] division tribunal supervises the guardian's management. The
[622] village chief also has a duty of administrative supervision.

421 G. Property. The natives very clearly differentiate im-
177 movable property from movable property, but the concept of
immovable property in Ouolof customary law differs completely
from the concept of this kind of property in Moslem law. The
right of private ownership of immovable property does not exist.

With the French occupation, the establishment of regis-
tration procedures, and the founding of European centers, some
[369] idea of urban property is beginning to spread; happily, per-
sonal interest complements custom on this point. Rural property,
however, remains as before.

423 The land in the areas inhabited by the Ouolof since time
642 immemorial belonged to the great chiefs of the country (that
is to say, to the sovereign authority) by virtue of their right
of sovereignty. "The lands belong to the Bour," is still
commonly heard. The meaning of this right, however, should

[72 cont.]

423 [642] not be misunderstood. It is not the property right in the precise sense that the Romans (*dominium*), our Civil Code (Art. [73] 544) and Moslem law (*melk*) give it. It is a right of general administration, control, and policing, which must be exercised strictly according to custom. The *bour* possessed the lands of his territories, just as the king of France possessed the crown lands, but this never meant that the right of private property was unknown under absolute monarchy. The fact remains that the true owner is none other than the total assemblage of descendants of the one who first improved the land, that is to say, the present family. As for the French state, successor of the *bours,* it inherited the rights of sovereignty that the latter had held.

In the regions where the Ouolof settled by force, the land continues to belong to the former masters: the *laman* of Socé origin. They were the first in former times to improve the land, and the boundaries of the fields were established by the lines where the fires, lighted in the bush by the family heads, met. The occupation of the country by the Ouolof was strictly political; the Socé were not divested of their rights, and even today in each hamlet, living side by side in friendly fashion, there are: the *diaraf,* the representative of authority and the mayor of the grouping; and the *laman,* master of the cultivated lands. The *laman,* who are becoming more and more rare, do not cultivate the fields. They have left them to the more industrious Ouolof. The occupants thus have only a use right, and even this right is not a personal one of the individual who cultivates the field. This right belongs to the whole family, and in this matter its head is merely its representative. This, then, is the only immovable property known here, and rural lands are subject to this customary institution.

[427] Of the other real rights, some, long leases, ground rent, are unknown, because they are impossible; others, usufruct in its various forms, use and habitation, [74] servitudes, and, in certain cases, the right of retention, are known and used.

The establishment of usufruct has an essentially temporary

[73 cont.]

423 character: it lasts only through the current year.

The servitudes are: either customary, such as the right to pick the fruit from his trees on the neighbor's land after inviting the latter to do so, the right of passage to an enclosed piece of land, the right to dig wells, the obligation to receive the water from higher ground; or established by particular circumstances. On this point, the natives claim that there is no limitation to the voluntary establishment of servitudes, as long as the consent of those involved has been obtained.

[425] The right of retention is granted in certain cases to the
seller or buyer of movable property as a guarantee of the sale
price or the delivery of the property. Divided [divise] property
is unknown. The mode of land use is always in undivided
[indivise] form. From this comes the very important conse-
[177] quence that the withdrawal from joint ownership and rights of
pre-emption (chefaa) of Moslem law are unknown.

The modes of acquiring property are thus quite different from those provided for by Moslem law.

The sale of immovable property is absolutely forbidden.
[425] The land, property or possession of the family, can in no way be alienated by an individual, not even by the head of the family. Nemo dat quod non habet [you cannot give what you do not have].

[427] The renting of real property is unknown. It is true that one can lend his louggan to a third party, who will cultivate it during the year and return it to the disposal of the lender after the harvest. This third party can obviously do no less than to offer a gift to the family, but this is a voluntary act, and nothing compels him to do it.

423 Aside from the collective lands of the family, there are
621 the collective lands of the village. The use of these "communal
lands" belongs to all the inhabitants of the [75] village; every-
one conforms in this respect to local usage. These collective
lands in principle are not to be developed in the form of louggans.
[311] They form the center's reserve of pasture lands and forests.

[75 cont.]

423 609 622 Human capital is always welcome; the stranger who comes to settle in a village meets with the best of welcomes. The village chief assembles his notables, communicates to them the stranger's request, and, after discussing the case, he is assigned either fallow land or the louggan that is not being cultivated by a family and is offered by it. It is understood that the stranger thereby acquires a right of usufruct for the year, while the family retains all its rights. 423 425 The only way of acquiring immovable property thus seems to be by inheritance, for lands already under cultivation. For uncultivated land, on which no positive right seem to have been established or claimed, private ownership may be established by authorization of the sovereign. This authorization emanates, not from his right of ownership, but from his right of sovereignty. It may be manifested explicitly by a land grant, or it may be implicit, that is to say, the sovereign may tolerate without interference the occupation and development of the land.

422 425 As far as movable property is concerned, agreement between the parties, gifts between living persons and testamentary gifts, accession, and adjudication are further modes of acquisition provided for by custom.

421 423 The concept of public domain, while not clearly expressed in the customary law, is nevertheless understood by all, with its dual character of inalienability and imprescriptibility. That of the private domain of the state is not clear at the present time, when the Ouolof do not constitute a national body. [621] The concept of the private domain of the village, however, is quite clear: it consists of the collective property of the village as it has been explained above. There is great similarity between these collective lands [76] of the Ouolof grouping and the property owned by the French commune. One might apply to them the definition of "communal lands" issued by the Conseil d'Etat [Council of State] (16 March 1838) and say that they, too, in some ways, "constitute the indivisible property of the body of the commune."

[76 cont.]

421 177 To conclude, it is hardly necessary to point out what a profound difference separates this concept of immovable property from the analogous theory in Moslem law. Where would one find here the distinction between the territory of Islam and the territory of the infidels, the rights of the Islamic community, the representation of the caliph, in short, all the immovable organization, so highly developed and so minute, in the Moslem juridical authors?

428 177 H. Inheritance. A Prophetic tradition proclaims that "the law of inheritance is half of wisdom." This indicates the importance of the inheritance decrees of Moslem law. Now, on this point, as on others, one can barely distinguish here and there a vague imprint of this law on native custom.

The foundations of inheritance rights are: kinship and marriage; the in-law relationship gives no inheritance rights.

Custom does not recognize either persons for whom shares are reserved, (fardh), universal successors or agnates (aceb), or cognates (doui el-arham). It is the character of the various goods involved that determines the order of the heirs.

428 The following are distinguished:
The immovables, that is, the louggans;
Huts;
Movable property.

428 596 Immovable property, being a family possession, cannot be part of the heritable property. Indeed, the family endures despite the loss of its head. Upon his death, the authority of the pater familias passes [77] immediately to the member designated by custom. It is the latter who, becoming the head and representative of the family at the instant of the death, becomes the manager of its property; it is an inheritance of power. The order established by custom is the system of patriarchal inheritance, the same as is used in Moslem states for the inheritance of [177] sovereign power and the practice of which is found among a great number of peoples of the Sudan (Delafosse, Haut-Sénégal-Niger, Vol. III).

[77 cont.]

428 Vol. III). It is the brother who succeeds his older brother, and
596 so forth, until all the brothers are dead, after which it is the
turn of the eldest son of the eldest brother.

The huts: As far as the paternal hut is concerned, the
same order of inheritance is followed: it passes to the younger
brother, because he is the family head. It is only in the case
where the younger brother died first that his hut goes to his
oldest son. Each of the other huts are given to the wife who oc-
cupies it. At the mother's death, her hut goes to her oldest
[597] daughter; the younger daughters continue to live with their older
sister. When the latter marries (and a fortiori if she is already
married), she leaves the hut to go to live in the compound of her
husband, who has built her a new hut. The hut of the deceased
woman then becomes the property of the younger daughter, and
so forth until all are deceased. If there is only one daughter, at
the time of her marriage she would take her hut with her to her
husband's compound.

428 Concerning the ordinary movable goods, livestock, grain,
177 money, one finds an order of inheritance that approaches
Moslem law. Once the estate has been determined, and the
payment of debts, including the remainder of the marriage por-
tion of the wives, has been made, these goods are divided among
all of the children of the deceased. Custom provides that the boy's
share must be superior to that of the girl, from which has come
[562] the established practice for pious or learned men to decide in
principle, in accordance with Moslem law, that the boy's share
is to be double that of the girl.

428 [78] Most of the time, especially if the deceased were monogamous, the distribution is not actually made. Joint possession continues, under the authority of the elder son and the mother of the family. That is to say, she herself takes from the inheritance the food allowance to which she is entitled. In addition, custom grants to each wife in the succession a gift to be granted informally, which bears the name "the husband's share." It is understood, of course, that the wearing apparel

[78 cont.]

428 and other personal property of the wife are not part of the inheritance. They remain her private property.

I. Testamentary gifts and gifts between living persons.
[431] Custom very strictly regulates, aside from the prescriptions of
Moslem law, testamentary gifts and gifts between living persons.

It is strictly forbidden for anyone to give away family property by testament. Such disposal, if it were made, would be meaningless. On the other hand, one has absolute freedom to dispose of his goods by testament. Only one condition -- and it is a formal one -- is imposed. The testator must be in perfect health. In case of illness, even if it is not the one that brought death, any testamentary disposition is meaningless.

431 In the matter of gifts between living persons, the freedom
of the family head is unlimited. It must be noted, however,
[596] that if he gives away any fraction of the family patrimony, he
does not do so in his own name, but in the name of all. In such cases, he must have general agreement or risk internal arguments.

[428] It is hardly necessary to add that the form of gift-giving, between living persons or testamentary, is purely verbal; only the presence of witnesses is required.

675 J. Contracts. This matter of contracts, so minutely regulated in Moslem law, is less so in [79] customary law. The most common contracts are sales, exchanges, loans, warrants [mandat], and deposits.

432 At the present time, sales are known and practiced every-
where. The Ouolof themselves mention merely as a curiosity
437 some of the bartering operations which they engage in with cer-
[439] tain nomads of the Ferlo, where money is replaced by tobacco,
sugar, or cotton cloth.

426 Loans are widely used: they are either gratuitous because given as a favor to a friend, or extremely usurious because parting

[79 cont.]
426 with the thing loaned (money, grain, livestock...) entails con-
siderable inconvenience for the lender. Agreements between
parties dictate the terms, but it is common practice that a sum
of money or a quantity of grain loaned during the year should be
returned in a double amount at harvest time.

675 Warrants and deposits are common practices.

427 The rental of services or dwellings is not known everywhere,
but is becoming more widespread. When work in the fields is
476 heavy, friends and neighbors help one another; strangers are
[464] seldom hired. As for the huts, they have too little value to be
the objects of rental contracts. In any case, the spirit of
hospitality among the Blacks is such that they give or lend their
427 extra huts without proviso to those who have none. The rental
of transportation, on the other hand, is a common practice; a
492 saddle horse is rented for so much a day, a pack animal for so
[675] much per amount of grain transported. The forfeit contract or
a fixed price per journey is not used, but obviously nothing
stands in the way of their use.

427 In Saloum there is a special contract for an agricultural
partnership. The owner of the field gives a *louggan* to a laborer,
usually a stranger who has come for the season. This man must
work for the owner in the morning, while in the evening he works
on his *louggan*. He is entitled to a hut, food, and certain days
of rest. The owner gives him advances of grain, reimbursable
at harvest time.

426 [80] Pledges are commonly used, but the pledging of
immovable property (*rahn*), that is to say, the assignment of a
piece of property as security for a debt through the transfer of
either the ownership (*rahnia*) or the property (*tsenia*), is neither
used nor known.

425 K. *Prescription*. In customary law, prescription does not
exist, either in its acquisitive form, or usucapion, or in its
extinctive or liberatory form. The recovery of an acknowledged
[426] or proved debt is always possible. Usually, however, long-
standing debts gave rise to compromises. On the other hand, the

[80 cont.]
425 mere passage of time can never turn the holder of movable property or the occupant of immovable property into its legitimate owner.

It must be added that the decree of 16 August 1912 partially [177] regulates for the natives this civil matter of prescription: "Prescription in civil and commercial matters is of five years" (Art. 46).

[622] Stray property is taken by the finder to the village chief, who keeps it and returns it to the owner. If it is not claimed within a month, it is handed over to the finder, who may keep it and use it, under the condition that he must turn it over to the owner should the latter make himself known.

[632] As for lost or stray animals, they are led to the chief of the canton, who keeps them for three days and has the necessary notices posted in his canton. When the three days are over, the fact is communicated to the administrator, who takes care of the matter.

2. Penal Institutions

671 Penal institutions, that is to say, the body of customs that regulate the exercise of penal repression [81] by local authorities, in Ouolof country, as in all primitive cultures, are far behind civil institutions. They have not developed nearly as richly and have not been the object of the often minute prescriptions of civil custom. On the other hand, penal repression, related as it is to public order, is of greater interest to French political authority. [648] The latter often makes its influence felt by interventions of all kinds. Its supervision is exercised in this matter in a much more intimate fashion than in the sphere of civil customs, where the natives are practically free.

In short, the penal sciences are unknown in the customary law. There is no concern with a study of the causes of the crime or of the penalty. The crime is regarded merely as a fact which, since it disturbs public order, deserves repression. The

[81 cont.]

671 penalty is an act of vengeance and an act of social defense: an act of vengeance, because the victim, himself unable to obtain satisfaction upon the person or the property of the criminal for his loss, deprivation, or suffering, is entitled to obtain this satisfaction through the local authority; an act of social defense, because, public life being ordered by custom, the criminal disturbs this public life and causes some suffering for everyone. It is then up to the chief to take in hand the defense of general tranquillity and social order, and to chastise the criminal so that neither he nor his like may be tempted to commit the repressed act: ne peccetur [to avoid sin].

673 A. The infraction. Under these conditions it is easy to define an infraction: an external act that disturbs the public order. The two elements which make up the infraction are as follows: First, an external act, from which it follows that internal or moral acts, that is, intentions, are not punishable. Second, a social disturbance, which implies, lato sensu [in a broad sense], not only a disorder from which everyone suffers, [82] but also a personal injury. Without establishing strictly defined categories of infractions, the Ouolof nevertheless differentiate to some extent among them, both from the standpoint of their gravity and from the standpoint of their morality.

From the standpoint of their gravity, they differentiate between: the petty infractions that merely merit reprobation, a light punishment, and which are punished by public disapproval; the medium infractions, which definitely must be repressed because their repetition would make communal life impossible; and finally, the crimes that disturb the very essence of social order.

From the standpoint of their morality, custom, in inflicting the penalty, differentiates very clearly between intentional infractions and non-intentional infractions.

[628] [648] Penal custom is territorial: it applies to all individuals, regardless of their origin, who are guilty of an infraction in the territory of the province. In case of flight, extradition from one

[82 cont.]
673 province to another within Ouolof territory, and even extradition
[628] from Ouolof country to foreign countries was not unknown, but the
[648] perpetual relations of hostility hardly permitted the use of this
institution.

Attempted infractions, whether manifested by merely preparatory acts, if criminal intent is established, or by an act of execution, are always punished. Custom allows that they are not to be punished in the same manner as the deed itself.

672 The responsibility of the individual for his actions is, in
customary law, the very basis of the idea of repression; this
responsibility is both civil and criminal. Collective responsibility
is known and practiced, but only under certain conditions. Cus-
tom allows for family responsibility in case of murder or wounds.
"Family" here means all of the relatives and those related by
[602] marriage on both the paternal and maternal sides. Among the
tiedos, on the other hand, [83] only the relatives in the maternal
line are responsible. In other instances, theft, arson, ..., it
is not allowed. The author of the crime is personally responsible
for his actions.

There are instances of criminal irresponsibility for the de-
linquent: childhood, insanity, and intoxication. In such cases,
[602] civil redress is fully required. If the delinquent is a child, his
paternal and maternal relatives are responsible. Neither rage nor
coercion are cases of irresponsibility.

672 Legitimate defense is a justificative fact, but the act
682 perpetrated in such a case must not overstep the bounds of
legitimate defense, for example, an individual cannot react
with a bullet to minor blows with a stick or fist and kill his
aggressor, when his own life was definitely not endangered.
In such a case, the killer is prosecuted, but is punished merely
with a brief imprisonment and a fine. The victim's family is
not entitled to compensation.

692 B. The penalty. As was said above, punishment is based
on an idea of vengeance and an idea of social defense. This

[83 cont.]
692 vengeance, in normal times, that is to say, when the territory
is subject to a strong and respected authority, is not personal.
It is the duty of the sovereign authority, or of its local
representative, to obtain for the victim the compensation to which
he is entitled, or the satisfaction of seeing the one who wronged
him punished.

681 As in all primitive societies, however, the victim may
692 give up his right of vengeance for its equivalent in money. This
is the system of pecuniary compensation, the Germanic wehrgeld
[wergild]. The sovereign authority then usually acknowledges,
and especially with the aid of gifts, that the public order has not
been injured, since, the criminal having [84] indemnified his
victim, matters have been redressed. It gives up prosecution,
if it deems it practicable.

681 The penalties provided for by custom may be classified
as: corporal, deprivative or restrictive of freedom, pecuniary,
and of moral order.

The corporal punishments were formerly death, flogging
with ropes, and torture; the latter merely had an anticipatory
[695] character as a means of obtaining the confession of the accused.
Nowadays, only the death penalty remains, torture and flogging
having been suppressed as "contrary to the principles of civilization."

Only one penalty deprivative of freedom exists: shackling
[695] in irons (dieng); it, too, had only an anticipatory character,
awaiting the close of the investigation. Banishment was the
sole penalty restrictive of freedom that was applied. Nowadays,
these penalties have been replaced by that of imprisonment,
[697] with the reservation that it cannot exceed 20 years, and by that
of interdiction of residence, which the jurisdictions can pronounce
for a maximum period of 20 years.

Pecuniary penalties provided for by custom were fines
and confiscation; both are in force.

Penalties of moral order consisted of suitable amends or
public humiliation by exhibition in the stocks or a march through
the villages; they were not universally applied. These penalties

/84 cont./

681 are now abolished, if not in principle, at least in practice. Since the aim sought, however, was public humiliation, nothing prevents one from finding it in the publicity given to the penal sentence that is provided for by our Penal Code and can be regarded here as a modified application of the old custom.

672 Custom formally allows for aggravating or extenuating
695 circumstances. It views them as facts /85/ which augment
681 or diminish the guilt of the accused, and which therefore must modify the severity of the penalty. Since, with few exceptions, there is no catalogue of penalties, or, in other words, no legal penalty for each infraction, the judge has almost unlimited freedom in inflicting the penalty, and it is clear that aggravating or extenuating circumstances play the most important role in determining the severity of the penalty.

696 The principle of the substitution of penalties was every-
681 where recognized, but it is more a matter of the applicable penalty than of the applied penalty. By indemnifying the plaintiff or victim, one obtained from him a withdrawal of the complaint; the matter was settled, and the charges were dropped automatically. The criminal sentenced to a flogging with ropes could obtain the substitution of a fine for this corporal punishment.

673 Complicity was regarded in general as an infraction as serious as the offense itself, because "it made it possible," states custom. The accomplice was thus punished with the same penalty as the principal author.

Recidivism entails a more severe penalty. In certain cases, such as theft, rape, arson, assault, ..., the incorrigible recidivist was formerly put to death.

Custom does not acknowledge prescription in criminal matters. In principle, the malefactor is always liable for prosecution. The decree of 16 August 1912 retains the native usages on this point.

695 With a few exceptions mentioned below, custom does
681 not provide a nomenclature for the legal penalties applicable

/85 cont./

695 for various infractions. In principle, any penalty is appli-
681 cable for any infraction. The judge has complete freedom
of judgment in basing his decision on the circumstances which
surrounded the unlawful act and on the consideration of time,
place, and opportunity.

682 A murderer is punished by the penalty of the talion.
[184] Nevertheless /86/ (in Sine-Saloum), if he flees, after a year
abroad he has the right to return to the country without be-
ing punished. This penal prescription applies specifically to
murder; it does not preclude the fair indemnification due the
victim's family.

684 The killing of an adulterous wife and her accomplice
682 by the husband is not actionable. In the provinces of Sine
[184] and Saloum, the bour even called the husband to his court
after the murder and publicly gave him bullets and gunpowder,
obviously less to calm down the gallants, who henceforth
would not be very eager to renew their exploits with the other
wives of such a touchy husband, than to approve strongly and
to sanction publicly the punishment of the culprits. Nowadays,
684 the killer-husband is punished merely with a fine. As for the
562 wife, the victim of her husband's adultery, she has the right
to beat and to wound his accomplice, but she does not have
the right to kill her. The husband remains inviolable and
sacred.

683 Insults are punished with a fine or imprisonment. The
penalty applied is the more severe the greater the eminence
of the person to whom the insults were addressed. The saying
known in the Saloum is: "By insulting the bour, one insults
everyone." It follows that insults addressed to the French or
[648] native representatives of authority deserve more severe re-
pression.

/ 3. Procedure /

692 There is nothing to be said about the judicial organization of the Murid circle, which, as for all of the territories of French West Africa, has been regulated by the decrees of

/86 cont./

692 10 November 1903 and 16 August 1912.

In civil, matters the tribunal of common law is now /87/ the subdivision tribunal, with the circle tribunal as the court of appeals:.

In criminal matters, the subdivision tribunal handles infractions of medium importance, similar to the misdemeanors of our criminal law; the circle tribunal is the court of appeals in such cases, and the tribunal of common law deals with crimes.

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These tribunals, successors of the former jurisdictions of the native chiefs, are acknowledged by all and function with great regularity. As for the judicial organization of Moslem territories, it is completely unknown here: Charâ, mahkama, cadi, adoul, ..., these institutions, and often [693] their very names, are literally dead for the natives. If the name of cadi still lives in their memories, it is in remembrance of the former cadis whom the French authorities formerly appointed on their own.

692 In customary law, the competent tribunal was, in principle: in civil matters, the defendant's tribunal; in criminal matters, the tribunal of the locality where the infraction took place. In cases where, for various reasons, there was a conflict of civil jurisdiction, it was the tribunal under whose jurisdiction the litigation had arisen that was competent. Nevertheless, nothing prevented the parties, for reasons convenient to both, from applying to another tribunal by common agreement.

Arbitrations and compromises were--and have remained--very popular.

695 In the procedure proper, three points deserve special attention: the proof, the role of the fetish, and the execution of the sentence.

In accordance with the old French saying and known in Moslem law, proof devolves on the party who asserts a fact. Onus incumbit ei qui dicit /the burden of proof is on the one who made the statement/; in most cases, this is the plaintiff,

/87 cont./

695 actor; in exceptional cases, it is the defendant, because here, too: Reus in exceptione fit actor /in some cases, the culprit turns plaintiff/.

/88/ Evidence is almost entirely oral; since education has become more widespread, however, writings and private contracts are appearing. The value of male and female testimony is unequal; except in certain special cases where the woman is by the force of circumstances better informed than the man, female testimony is regarded as very inferior to male testimony. It is commonly said, "Proof is obtained through the testimony of two honorable men, or through that of one man and nine women." In practice, however, the testimony of a woman is more valuable. 562 695

695 Admission of guilt is fully conclusive. It is the probatio probatissima /the most conclusive proof/. It must entail conviction.

Accusation by oath is a common practice. The parties can reciprocally tender it if the judge is present. The judge can also tender it to one of the parties, usually the defendant or accused. The use so widespread in Moslem territories of co-swearers, persons who attest to the moral character of a defendant or of a witness, is unknown here; the oath bears merely on the materiality of the facts. [177]

Although fetishistic practices have now been banned from the regular procedure, the old traditions still exist in this sphere. The victim of a theft often appeals to a sorcerer-diviner to recover the lost object. These steps often meet with success, either because the thief, affected by the misfortune which might befall him, hastens to return the stolen object, or because the sorcerer-diviner, well acquainted with local schemes and events, serves as an obliging intermediary between the parties, like certain marabouts of North Africa, whose universally acknowledged holiness allows the overt practice of the béchara. 691 685

/88 cont./

696 The compulsory execution of the judgment was ordered by the tribunal that pronounced it. If the losing party refuses to carry out the judgment voluntarily, /89/ the winning party has a period of reprieve set for the losing party by the tribunal. Upon the expiration of this reprieve, his goods, if he has any, are seized and sold. If he does not have anything, arrest for debt is inflicted until the payment is made in full.

696 423 422 By virtue of the common-law theory regarding landed property, the goods seized can only be movable property. The seizing of immovables does not exist, at least when it is a rural matter. Natural fruits can be seized, but only if they are detached or cut. As long as they are standing or are on branches, the creditor must spare them, but he makes sure that the harvest is not removed surreptitiously.

696 [632] The seizure is carried out by the canton chief with the aid of his assistants. The objects seized are carried or led to the tribunal, which sells them on a day when it is in session.

The proceeds are distributed among the suing creditors without any preferential treatment. There is no established order for the payment of the various debts. If some of them are favored, the matter is decided by the circumstances and not by pre-established juridical principles.

The decree of 16 August 1912 (Ch. V) regulated with a light touch and without any marked modification the execution of the judgments.

Conclusion

177 671 Following this brief examination of the customary legal institutions of the Ouolof natives, it is easy to see how weak their Islamization is in the juridical realm.

By following the customary law and the corresponding prescriptions of Koranic law step by step, one continually

/89 cont./

177 671 comes across dissimilarities. Most of the time, there are no points in common, and one feels that the customary law, produced by a primitive people of the Black race, was conceived in a /90/ completely different spirit from that of Moslem law, Eastern and Semitic.

In civil matters, what is there in common, especially with regard to the structure of the family, marriage, the position of women, the dissolution of marriage, the concepts of property, inheritance, testaments, agreements and contracts, as they are understood by custom and as they are regulated by Koranic law? The habous (or ouaqfs), religious [421] properties in mortmain, inalienable and imprescriptible, which are found throughout the Moslem world and which constitutes one of the basic institutions of Islamic religious law, are absolutely unknown here.

In criminal and procedural matters, French authority makes its intervention felt more directly, and justly so, since customary law is often informal and barbarous in this sphere. But should one seek in Sidi Khalil the enlightenment that is lacking in the local institutions? In the most Islamized territories, the sovereign has regulated and codified penal matters, and it has been a long time since the prescriptions of Koranic criminal law, and of the authors who studied it, have been applied. Is it to be in French territory and for Blacks who are hardly Islamized that these texts are to be strictly enforced?

This, however, is what has happened: all the native tribunals (circles and subdivisions) have common and even exclusive recourse to Sidi Khalil in the Seignette translation. Why? For the following reasons, which are not at all judicial:

1. Because Sidi Khalil is an author who was fortunate enough to be translated into French by Seignette and published--text and translation-- for the modest sum of 25 francs. At that price, anyone can afford the Law and the Prophets.

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177 671 2. Because it is easier to find in Sidi Khalil, with the aid of the table of contents, sufficient grounds /91/ for passing a sentence than to search painfully through the thicket of customs for those applicable to the case before the court. This observation is not a criticism; in general the presidents of the native courts do not have the legal [693] education needed for such research; and, on the other hand, the native assessors, if they come from two different villages, do not always agree on their customs.

3. Because the Chamber of Homologation, in accordance with a formerly constant jurisprudence, deemed that for the Moslem Ouolof, or those claiming to be such, the provisions of Moslem law should be integrally applied. For several years, as proved by its latest decrees, it has referred to "Moslem custom" and no longer to the articles of the Koran or its commentators; but the native courts, which are not always familiar with the latest state of jurisprudence, do not always follow suit. In any case, the wholesome influence of the Chamber is rarely felt in civil matters.

True customary jurisprudence might have arisen in the tribunals of the interior through the influence of the native members, but it must not be forgotten that when they are Moslems, they are usually learned, pious men, the intellectual elite of the country, and consequently highly Islamized individuals doctrinally, who, out of wisdom, conscientiousness, and piety, cite the relevant texts of Moslem law while not unaware (although sometimes they may be unaware) that customary law governs the case at hand and should be applied.

Furthermore, the Chamber of Homologation, which demanded, and justly so, that the statute of the accused should be represented in the native tribunal, lost its vigor and allowed that "this rule should be disregarded when it could not be observed rigorously in areas where /92/ the Moslem element was predominant and where the panel of assessors did not include fetishistic notables." The decree

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177 671 of 1912 (Art. 7), in prescribing that the statute of the party or of the accused should always be represented and in enjoining the lieutenant-governors and the commissioners-general to name, if necessary, one or several assessors ad hoc, put matters straight.

One example will illustrate these observations.

As a happy result of the rule for the registration of [421] [423] [369] landed property, the idea of private ownership is beginning to spread, and the natives are acquiring urban lots in trade or having them given to them by the administration. Now, this property is true private property which cannot become part of the family property, because it is acquired by an individual with his own money and not inherited from his ancestors. Is it logical to endow this private property, a French creation, in accordance with the Moslem juridical system? Would it be advisable, for example, to apply to it, as is done, the measures of alienation and the inheritance and testamentary dispositions of Koranic law? Why this interposition of an alien law between us, our spirit, and our influence, on the one hand, and the natives and their institutions, on the other hand?

Thus, in short, in opposition to the spirit and the letter of the legislation in force in French Western Africa, which preserves for the natives the benefits of their customary institutions, the dispositions of Moslem law are often applied to them, in spite of them. And not even those of a living and modern Moslem law, like that of the countries of the East (Egyptian Code, Turkish Code) or of Algeria (Morand Codification Project), but those of a medieval author (Sidi Khalil is from the fourteenth century) who, although excellent, has an overrated reputation.

/93/ It should be added, for the sake of completeness, that Sidi Khalil is known and studied in the marabout schools of Senegal and Mauritania, where Moslem law is studied, but that he is regarded as a second-rate author, more or less on a level with Ibn Acem. The juridical work in highest repute there in learned Arabist circles is the

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Risala of Ibn Abi Zaïd.

It is to be feared that the application of this jurisdiction by the French tribunals, if it becomes widespread, would contribute greatly to the Islamization of the natives. It is thus fitting that the attention of all interested parties should be drawn to these facts. A much better distribution of native justice would certainly be secured if the presidents of the circle and subdivision tribunals were requested not to look for juridical enlightenment in authors concerned with a dilapidated Moslem law practically unknown here.

Chapter II

Muridism and the Social Conditions of the Natives

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Islam tends to make its influence felt throughout the social life of its believers. The Koran contains as many prescriptions and minute precepts concerning the everyday life of the Arabs as dogmatic teachings and religious doctrines. Now, as has been demonstrated for all peoples who are not of Semitic origin (African Berbers, natives of the British, Malaysian, and Dutch Indies), the prescriptions of Moslem orthodoxy in social affairs undergo continuous adulteration as they come into contact with the happenings and various circumstances of native life. /94/ It is easy to verify in a brief investigation that the Senegalese Ouolof are no exception to this rule: now Islamized for half a century, they have preserved intact most of their social practices, traditions, and customs. Traditionalists first and foremost, they accept what for one reason or another is imposed upon them, but they give up their past as little as possible. In this connection, Islamization has been practically null, and at the present one can see the Murids,
[795]
reacting in a way against Koranic law, returning to certain ancestral customs which the influence of Islam or the presence of French authority had tended to abolish.

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800 This will be made clear in this social monograph, conceived somewhat on the model of the economic monographs recommended by Le Play.

844 When a mother feels the pangs of labor, the family no-
tifies the old women of the village, who hasten to come and
offer their help to the patient. There are no professionsal mid-
wives. The delivery, in general, does not take place in the
hut; at the opportune moment, the woman takes refuge under
a tree, at the foot of a bush, or near a haystack; it is there
that the delivery takes place. The reason for not staying in-
side the hut, the natives say, is both for purposes of cleanli-
[776] ness and to keep the spirits from seizing the blood and liquid
scattered about and injuring both the child and the mother.

The newborn child is washed with cold or lukewarm
water and taken to its mother who has returned to the hut. It
846 remains there for seven days without being taken out. This
period of time, according to custom, is necessary for the
mother's recovery, but it pertains chiefly to the child, who
must be protected against the dangers that lie in wait for it.
[776] It as yet has no name, but it has hair; both facts make it an
easy prey for the evil spirits. This is why it is carefully hidden.

/95/ From the first day, or the second at the latest, the
846 child is equipped with his first grigris. All the local religious
789 authorities participate in this: the marabout of the sheik pre-
751 pares an amulet in which he encloses a few words from the
[754] Koran and mysterious formulas. The sorcerer-diviner delivers
[791] a magic talisman: a small horn, a tooth, hair, a special stone,
a leather necklace, over which he has uttered incantations.
These grigris are fastened to the child's body.

846 After the elapse of the seventh day, the child is summon-
[851] ed to enter life officially: its head is carefully shaved. The
[302] mother gets up for the first time, and the child is placed on her
back; the neighboring women come to assist at this ceremony.
This is the time when the child is given a name. For a boy,
[553] this name is usually the name of the grandfather, uncle, or

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846 great-uncle; sometimes, especially when there are several
553 women in the house, he is given the mother's surname. If it
is a girl, she is usually given the name of her aunt or grandmother.

846 The father, who has purchased a sheep or a goat, offers
782 it in sacrifice on this day. It may indiscriminately be marabout,
the sheik, or the sorcerer-diviner who takes care of slaughtering
it with the appropriate ritual. Pieces of the animal are
offered to friends and visitors. This is a sacrifice which is supposed
to exercise a very favorable influence on the child's fate.

846 The neighbors, in turn, bring the mother small gifts of
431 friendship and congratulations: a little millet, sugar, flour,
or salt; a piece of meat, a kola nut. All these provisions
are gathered together, and the festivities are concluded by a
communal meal in honor of the newborn. "Let us rejoice, for
a man is born on earth."

846 Following this, the mother takes up her usual tasks; she
may go out with the child and walk about, but she cannot start
working from the very first day. /96/ When she gets up again,
[783] she does not go through a personal ceremony of purification.

It is, of course, the mother who nurses her child; if she
853 has no milk or if it is insufficient, she uses goat's milk. The
milk of cows or ewes is regarded as hard to digest and less suitable.
If the mother is living and has milk, however, the child
is never handed out to a wet nurse. A mixture of milks must be
scrupulously avoided. The child is given to a wet nurse only
if the mother died in childbirth, or if, ill and without milk,
she has never nursed her child.

862 Weaning takes place at the age of two; for boys, one
856 sometimes waits three to six months longer. At the time when
751 the teeth are coming, it is proper to put a protective grigri on
the child.

591 Children as a rule live in their mother's hut. Up to the
age of ten, their father sometimes allows the best behaved ones
to sleep in his hut. After this age, "since they understand what

/96 cont./

591 they see," as the natives say, they are left once and for all in their mother's hut or in neighboring huts.

304 The piercing of the girl's ears is not done at a specific time. Sometimes this operation takes place during the first seven days, but more often sometime during the first two or three years. A small bead is immediately placed in the child's ear. At the time of this ceremony, [789] [751] custom requires the addition of a special grigri and a decrease in the child's feeding.

[177] Boys are circumcised between the ages of eight and 15. This practice is very old and antedates the Islamization of the Oulof. It takes place in the morning, before sunrise, and does not occasion any festivities. Girls do not undergo excision.

858 Girls and boys are not treated differently in early childhood; /97/ they receive the same care and they play together. Girls are never secluded. They retain full freedom, and it is by associating with youths and men that they 582 find their husbands. Girls who are pretty or from good families are married early, at about the age of 14; average girls marry a little later. 581 The sole physical prerequisite is their nubility, and this nubility is manifested by the onset of the menses.

584 It would seem that the majority of marriages, at least among young people, arises from the mutual choice of the spouses. The consent of the relatives is needed, but usually it is interposed only in order to sanction the lovers' wishes. [177] On this point, custom differs considerably from the prescription of Moslem law and is much closer to the usages of our civilization.

585 177 There is no need to return to the ceremonies that accompany marriage, but it should be noted that the festivities are carried out within the framework of local mores, and one does not find the official procession, the veiling

/97 cont./
585 of the bride, or the applications of henna and other cere-
177 monies so common in Moslem territory. The role of reli-
gion is almost null, and the intervention of its offices is
merely accessory. Here, more than anywhere else, the de-
finition of marriage given by Martin Hartmann can be ap-
plied: "The civic regulation of the sexual instinct."

177 Islamization is more marked in the funerary rites.
763 When the sick person is at the point of death, relatives,
neighbors and friends gather and begin their lamentations.
It is proper that the dying person should leave for the other
764 world surrounded by universal regret. As soon as he is dead,
he is dressed and inhumed without delay. The corpse is
carefully washed and wrapped in a white boubou /robe/;
the feet and hands are bound, and it is carried to the ceme-
[778] tery. /98/ If the village contains a diaka (place of worship
surrounded by boughs), the body is taken to the entrance and
put down before the opening. The sheik reads the prayer of
the dead; the body is immediately carried away and laid out
directly on the sand inside the grave, the feet toward the north,
the head toward the south, lying on one side, facing the east.
This custom is spreading even among non-Moslem Ouolof.
The body is covered directly with sand; others prefer to lay
out poles horizontally, put twists of straw on top, and cover
[782] the whole with sand. There are no public prayers on the
grave; each person prays inwardly if he deems it beneficial.

Inhumation takes place immediately after death; the
only delay is the time required for the funeral preparations.
If the deceased's relatives are not there, however, one noti-
fies them and waits for their arrival. Similarly, if death oc-
curs during the night, one waits until morning.

[768] Upon returning to the compound, the son and brother
of the deceased immediately divide up his grigris.

Sacrifices usually accompany a death. Among well-
[782] to-do Sérèr /Serer/, the sacrifices are veritable hecatombs,

/98 cont./

764 giving rise to great rejoicing. The Ouolof are more reserved;
782 an ox or a goat is killed, cut into small pieces, and
distributed among all inhabitants of the village. This is
not an act of charity, since all present, even the wealthiest,
get a share.

764 Spouses are sometimes buried side by side, but in two
[766] separate graves; a woman who dies in childbirth is buried
with the child.

The use of cemeteries is only partially known. Inhumation
is often done out in the country in an isolated
place. The grave is marked with a little heap of sand and
sometimes, when jackals and hyennas abound, with a few
branches. There are no tombstones, testifications, or inscriptions.
769 Women /99/ do not go to the cemetery or to the
place of inhumation, after the touching practice dear to the
Moslems, in order to pray on the grave and to offer small
sacrifices. There are no festivities on fixed dates to commemorate
the anniversary or the memory of the deceased.
It would seem that the conclusion drawn by a canton chief
in Baol is correct: "Among us, when one is dead, he is
forgotten."

800 The Sérère have better preserved the cult of the dead.
They put the body in a hut, and, before covering the hut
with sand, they inclose with it a knife which may be useful
for self-defense if the need arises, and some snuff and a
living rooster with a loud voice to awaken it in the morning.

177 Islamic beliefs about the first moments following
775 death seem to have penetrated more deeply, at least in the
minds of learned men. As soon as the time has come, an
angel rushes to the moribund person and removes his soul.
He keeps it until the time of burial. When this operation
is finished, the last of those present has scarcely withdrawn
seven steps from the grave before the angel returns the soul
[776] to the corpse. Good and bad angels, benevolent and malevolent
spirits flock in and accost the deceased, each demanding
his due. If at the end of the arguments it is established

/99 cont./

177 that the man was good, the first angel takes his soul to
775 Heaven, where "it rests" -- this is indeed local color. Otherwise, it is led to the infernal regions. In either case, it awaits the day of the Last Judgment, presided over by God, who alone makes the ultimate decision.

775 The beliefs of the masses of the faithful are usually less precise; the native claims to be in total ignorance as to his ultimate destiny, and to rely wholly on his sheik for his happiness in the other world.

753 Illness. In general, in the minds of the Ouolof, illness /100/ is less a malady arising from a natural cause than the result of an evil spell cast by a malevolent being. If a long-
757 standing or chronic ailment is involved, it is easy to treat oneself, and one resorts to herbs in a medication taken either internally or externally. If someone is afflicted with a serious ailment with which he is unfamiliar, it is announced in the village, along with all its symptoms, and the inhabitants hasten to him. Among their number there is always someone who, having experienced something similar, can suggest the necessary remedy. In any case, one usually has in his hut or on
755 him a sufficient number of grigris so as to be able to find one
[789] that is suitable for the wound, sore, or fever from which he suffers.

The great expedient, however, is to call on the witch doctor (bilodi). Since it is understood that the illness is caused
[753] by an evil spell cast by a sorcerer (dème), one appeals to the
[754] witch doctor, whose beneficial powers may offset the bad influence of the sorcerer. The witch doctor comes to the hut of the patient or has him brought to him. He exorcises him, utters incantations, compels him to talk, protects him against the dangers which he believes will beset him if he discloses his torturer. In former days, as soon as the patient had uttered a name, the malevolent one was immediately arrested; he was beaten until the patient regained his health; and, if he

/100 cont./

755 died, the sorcerer was put to death. Nowadays, the remedy is less brutal: once the cause of the illness (the socerer) is known, one looks for--and, of course, finds--the reasons which led him to be malevolent, and these are combated with reliable ad hoc grigris. Or else, he is sought out and pacified with a gift.

771 Fetishistic practices. Every aspect of the social and domestic life of the natives is impregnated with /101/ fetishistic practices, so that it is very difficult to differentiate between those acts whose aim is purely of a material order and those that operate beyond that, between those that may be the recipes of empirical knowledge and those that are magical rites.

121 In any case, all the systems that have endeavored to explain the origins of the religious life, Orphism, magic and totemism, astrolatry, and even animism, are at the present day the subject of too much controversy to be of use here. It is better simply to note the facts.

778 Among the beliefs of the Ouolof of the preceding gen-
784 eration, that of mbagne, which seems to correspond to the
[171] tana of the Mandingues /Mandingo/ (Delafosse, Haut-Sé-
négal-Niger), was the most interesting. The mbagne is an
object or a force of nature, with regard to which a person, a
family, or a village, as the result of a close relationship, is
subject to certain obligations, in general prohibitive, but
sometimes positive. For some, the mbagne is the fruit of
the baobab, or some fruit, some plant, some bird, which
they must never eat under penalty of illness; for others, it
is the east wind, the clap of thunder, etc., which must never
[782] take them by surprise out-of-doors. Anyone guilty of com-
mitting a wrong against the mbagne may redeem himself
[783] through offerings and purification ceremonies.

These beliefs, in contact with the French and through
[177] the Islamization of the people, seem to be on the wane today.

/101 cont./
778 Most individuals questioned are puzzled. "Our parents believe
[777] in the mbagne, that was proper. We ourselves believe
in it, to be sure, but we believe in the marabout,
[193] which is also good. The marabout protects us against evil
influences and malevolent spirits."

Fetishistic practices, which of course, are most in
evidence in the course of an illness, in a latent state dominate
everyday life. Thus, it is absolutely necessary to abandon
731 the compound that catches fire two or three times in /102/
succession. It is obvious that this compound lies in the path
[776] of evil spirits and that it inconveniences them in their rounds.

One can vividly perceive the Black's perpetual feeling
771 of his inferiority, of his weakness, before the forces of the
beyond. He uses objects with caution, for fear of antagonizing
hidden powers with right superior to his. He is ready to
give way to them when they give clear proof of their wishes
to take back what is theirs or not to be inconvenienced by
his presence. He has never dared to reach a full conception
of the right of private immovable property and of the alienation
of land; he always regards himself to some extent as
a mere occupant of the soil, acknowledging the rights of
the Master through offerings and sacrifices and always ready
to share with strangers who come asking for a portion.

*795 The Murids have thus preserved to a large extent their
771 fetishistic beliefs and practices; their social life is thoroughly
impregnated with them, and their Ouolof brothers in other
Tidiania and Qadria orders are in the same position.

*795 Dwellings. The Ouolof live in the well-known straw hut.
342 The Murids have some personal practices in this respect. In
general they like to live grouped together in the same compound
or in adjacent compounds. The "brothers" alone are
permitted to come inside the compound or village. These
dwellings are usually very clean. It is rather curious to note
[356] that in many ways the sheiks advise and demand regular cleanings.
Some Murids like to differentiate themselves by an

/102 cont./

*795 external sign: they stick two poles into the ground at the
[342] opening of the compound, but this is not a general practice.

[352] The sheiks have European furnishings of various sorts
[177] and in dubious taste in their huts or houses.

/103/ Clothing. In various places, the Murids endeavor to differentiate themselves from other Blacks by wearing a special sign: a white napkin over the chest in Cayor; in Sine-Saloum, enormous grigris which hang
[301] down on the stomach: nearly everywhere, a stiff necklace
of black leather.

[291] In general their clothing does not differ from that of other Ouolof. Along the Thiès-Louga railroad, however, the disciples of Ibra Fal often wear trousers of blue cotton edged with white braiding.

[292] The sheiks dress more richly. Some of them, to distinguish themselves from the crowd, wear those blue silk djellabas so common in Morocco: this falsely gives them the appearance of Moroccan coastal traders or of sherif
[291] civil servants. The others simply wear the national costume:
white or blue loincloths and boubous /robes/.

[276] Pleasures and festivities. In principle, there is no prohibition against smoking, snuffing, or using opium, but a sheik may sometimes personally make this interdiction for
[273] his talibés. The use of wine is permitted only with the special permission of the marabout.

[517] Theatrical productions, dancing, music, and bamboulas of all kinds are permitted, but the sheik's personal austerity sometimes leads him to disallow them in his group.

Disturbances in the social order. So far, the peculiarities pointed out in the life of the Murids are of interest

/103 cont./

*795 solely from a sociological standpoint and merit only scientific interest. There is, however, a more serious matter to the discredit of the sheiks; it is the disturbance that they sometimes make in the social order by /104/ attracting young men with golden promises and taking them away from their families.

[691] Several parents have lodged complaints, and it is in these complaints that one can find the proselytizing methods of the Murid sheik.

"He has excited my son; he has led him astray from his duties by making him renounce the fetishistic religion which is that of his ancestors."

"I tried to call my son back home; he would not listen to me. My son is the only tiédo who has renounced his beliefs to come under the spell of Makoudia." (Circle of Sine-Saloum, Decisions of the tribunal of the province of Kalone, 4 June 1912; of the tribunal of the province of East Saloum, 27 June 1912.)

"They lead the young man to believe that his father and mother are merely the beings in which God kept him until the day of his birth, while the sheik is a support that will insure his future in this world and his salvation in the other."

"They tell the young girl that she must avoid the touch of a profane person in order to dedicate herself to God in the person of the sheik, for this will bring her much honor."

The allurements of the sheiks does not always captivate the youths, to whom they promise the glory of becoming a learned and esteemed sérigne, or the girls, to whom they sing of the honor and prestige of being a marabout's wife... and the benefits of having been one. Sometimes they are satisfied by having the children loot their paternal home and thus enrich themselves with the spoils from people who do not dare lodge a complaint for fear that their children will be condemned along with the instigating marabout.

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*795 Temptations are also addressed to the parents; they are told of the esteem that will be theirs by having a child in the entourage of the great Marabout, Amadou Bamba. They give gifts to them: an ox, a /105/ loincloth, a small sum of money. They kill a goat in their honor. The Black, who is susceptible to such demonstrations, is tempted to surrender his son to the sheik.

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182 It is in this way that the influence of the Murids is quite pernicious; it has produced a certain amount of disorganization among some families by inciting young men to disobedience, to insults, and ill treatment toward their parents, to theft in the paternal home, to flight to unknown places. It has caused some parents, aged and infirm, to [737] be without resources and to be forced to live on public charity.

*795 The reasons g[illegible] by the sheiks accused of instigating such acts do not excuse them. "My talibés did for me what I did for my Sérigne."

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587 Morality does not always gain, either, by the relations of the Murid sheiks with the wives of their congeners. For certain sérignes, such as Ibra Fal, Sheik Anta, and Sheik Thioro, no woman to whom they take a fancy can resist the considerable sums of money that they are ready to disburse to them or to their relatives. Once their desire has been satisfied, they simply repudiate them. It should be added that these women have nothing to lose, because the prestige of being the ex-wife of a marabout enhances their value. The husband who has had his wife removed in so brutal a fashion is not always satisfied, however, and voices his complaints.

To be fair, it should be added that these practices are not peculiar to the Murids, but appear to be customary among all the Ouolof. The Murid sheiks are guilty of carrying things too far.

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Chapter III

Muridism in the Economic Realm

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494 In preaching to its adepts complete surrender to the marabout's will, Murid doctrine leads to strange consequences in economic matters.

The adepts whose faith is strong enough to surrender body and soul to their spiritual leader go further than this. For them, the material life is only an accessory, and all their wealth in labor and agricultural produce is brought and delivered to the sérigne, unconditionally.

The cultivator becomes a mere productive unit within the great Murid family. If he has no land, he is assigned a lot to cultivate; he is given the necessary seed; the needed animals or tools are made available to him; he must help his brothers or be helped by them at time of need. During the harvest, the sheik acquires possession of all the produce and sees to its regular and profitable disposal. Does not all this seem like a vast agricultural co-operative with confessional foundations, with religious feeling here taking the place of the democratic education and conscious will of the worker?

This collectivistic spirit even entails the corollary institutions of assistance and reciprocity. The sheik, depositary of the goods of the union of the brothers, comes to the aid of unfortunate adepts with help of various kinds and in the most diverse forms.

[627] Finally, this trust in the sheik must be acknowledged as a guarantee of social peace. The arbitration of a religious leader, /107/accepted by all the brothers and imposed if it is not sought, puts an end to many petty local conflicts and avoids legal action, suits, and internal dissent.

This communistic spirit among the Murids is not peculiar to the cultivators. It extends to the artisans and to all the occupations, including trade.

[443] In most of the stops along the two railroad lines and

/107 cont./

*795 474 [443] in many of the villages, one finds Murids managing trading posts for the sheik, who advances the funds, supervises the trader's management, and demands very precise accounts. Sheik Ibra Fal especially , a true Black potin /blusterer, scandalmonger/, is a past master of the art of setting up trading branches. Other Murids are employed in European homes, sell kola in railroad stations and public squares, or work as traveling salesmen.

Artisans and petty tradesmen furnish a good contingent of members to the confession of Amadou Bamba. The [463] Khouan are tailors, butchers, shoemakers, street porters, shepherds; mattress makers in Dakar; fishermen in Rufisque and Saint-Louis; longshoremen along the river. Those of Balla Mbaké are more specifically colliers. The women are embroiderers, seamstresses, and dyers in the stops along the railroad.

There are even a few civil servants, policemen, and soldiers who are connected with Muridism.

For occupations that require a little capital or special equipment, the sheik advances the funds or purchases the materials (fiber, boat, sewing machine, bench, tools). The person involved is entitled to a certain portion of the profits when accounts are rendered. It is, in short, a new mode of co-operation, a work contract with shared benefits.

/108/ As for other laborers, journeymen, diggers, street porters, they go off with the blessing of the sérigne and, when the season is over, they bring to him the returns from their labor.

*795 This new ardor that the Murid has imbibed in his membership in the Bamba order is expressed by an upsurge of activity and has had the most fortunate effects for the development of certain areas. Thus, the sheiks have cleverly perceived the advantages of the extension of the Thiès-Kayes railroad through Baol and East Saloum, and

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*795 they have placed their Murid compounds in the railroad stops; Khombole, Bambey, Diourbel, Gossas, Guinguinéo, Kaffrine, and Malème, not to mention the small villages between them, have become the centers of brotherhood agglomerations. [425] The sheik requests land grants from the administrative authorities or purchases urban lots as they become available; he aims at setting up a living, compact nucleus within the railroad stop. Beyond this he puts occupants on all the land that seems to be vacant and without owners, sometimes without further ado, sometimes requesting the permission of the native chief; and there is certainly no lack of such land nowadays. In any case, most of the time the native chiefs welcome the human resources that come to help develop the territory and do not begin to show hostility until the Murid monopolist emerges from beneath the laborer's cloak.

The Dakar--Saint-Louis railroad itself has been the object of considerable economic occupancy by the Murids. First of all, there are on both sides of the line, but especially on the eastern side, the cultivators who work under their local sheiks and who, under their leadership, develop fields of millet and peanuts. It is especially 443 *795 through his traders, however, that Sheik Ibra Fal, from his zaouia in Thiès, at the crossing of the lines, has skillfully directed /109/ the conquest of the petty trading in Cayor. Thiès, Tivaouane, Piré, Gourèye, Kelle, Ndande, Kébémer, Guéoul, all the stops along the railroad line, all the little hamlets between them, have one or several traders, to whose shops the brothers come to lay in supplies.

*795 477 [443] Now, since this Cayor area is very Islamized, since the Murids of Sheik Bou Kounta and Sheik El-Hadj Malik are as numerous as those of Amadou Bamba, since French trading, on the other hand, is highly developed there, and since all these vested interests, these acquired positions, suffer from the growing competition, it is from this

1: Marty--96 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal
Wolof MS30

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*795 477 side that the loudest complaints are heard. These complaints however, to be fair, belong in the religious realm in some cases, and in the economic realm in others. To raise the specter of a dangerous political Mouridism in order to incite the administrative authorities to persecute and destroy it is an act of ignorance or of bad faith which serves as a screen for a single aim: to have troublesome colleagues removed or to oust more successful business competitors.

It is not without reason, of course--from their point of view--that European and even native traders lodge complaints. The Mourids, who, divest themselves of their income for the benefit of their sheik, can no longer put the same expenditures on clothes, knickknacks, sweets, and tobacco, on which, in their lack of concern about tomorrow, they used to devote all their resources. Hence, a decrease in retail trade. As for the well-to-do sheiks, their personal consumption is limited. The proceeds of donations and alms are spent on costly and often ridiculous fancies. Some of them have the tempting catalogues from the weapons factory of Saint-Étienne; others have those of the great Paris stores, and under the urging of the trader representing these houses, they put in extraordinary orders for useless tools and machines and white layettes /110/ worth several hundred francs. Ibra Fal bought an ice-making machine; Sheik Anta furnishes his home with mirrors and imitation gold and uses only paper and envelopes bearing his arms; Mbakè Bousso is looking for a portable sundial; Amadou Bamba has his writings published. All these men are abundantly provided with cases of champagne, lemonade, grenadine, and liquors of various sorts. Finally and above all, sums that are fantastic for this area are spent on the acquisition of young women. Sheik Anta is said to have recently paid [583] a net marriage portion of 10,000 francs in order to marry a woman whom he obviously had determined to acquire at any cost.

*795 477 /110 cont./
any cost.

These are the facts that justify the complaints of the traders and explain the minor crisis that their business may be suffering; it is useless to invent political wrong-doing, such as the sending of sums of money to Morocco. [648] The Senegalese Blacks--Murids as well as the others--have no relations with Morocco and know nothing about that country. On the contrary, it is from Morocco that money seems to be coming to the Murid sheiks, and the Collector of Tivaouane pointed out to the circle administrator that he had paid to them a number of money orders /mandats/ from the Senegalese infantrymen who walk the Moroccan highways.

In short, there does not seem to be any deplorable losses in the import and export business with France. There are merely conflicts of private interests: changes in the tastes of purchasers, changes in the stores patronized, displacements of wealth. All these fluctuations are quite natural and are the very essence of trade; it is up to the traders involved to acquire, or retain, through greater ingenuity, skill, and sometimes honesty, the customers they seem to be losing.

685 *795 The complaints of the traders are more justified when /111/ they point to the acts of certain employees who do not hesitate to commit theft, breach of trust, or embezzlement, in order to have the honor of taking a large sum to their sheik. It is not always easy to repress the unlawful acts. The thief vanishes and is found no more. If by chance he can be identified, the trader is only too happy to recoup his losses through threats of prosecution. He lodges no complaint, but he laments his frozen assets and regrets the "lack of profits." Such occurrences--it should hastily be said--are rare.

*795 The only thing truly to be deplored in Muridism, from an economic standpoint, is the exploitation of the natives. Donations pour in to the sérignes: hard cash in hundreds and thousands of francs; livestock, such as camels, horses, oxen, goats, chickens and eggs; bags of rice, millet, peanuts, and

1: Marty--98 G-4,5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal
Wolof MS30

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*795 beans, on camels or whole caravans; loads of manioc cuttings, sankhand (crushed millet), and bark; bales of kola, etc. ... The local authorities try to stop this flow by persuasion, but the Murids are like Sganarelle's wife: they want to be plundered just as she wanted to be flogged. Laborers who are almost reduced to slavery, and free from all worry, live quite happily in their way, such as the young man who, sent by Ali Penda from Sine-Saloum to Amadou Fadiana (Mbaké-Baol) to accompany a herd, had not returned a year later. Amadou Fadiana had acknowledged his outstanding skill as a shepherd by keeping him and putting him in charge of his herds. He intended to keep him as long as possible. The family was compelled [691] to prosecute legally those sérignes who had thus reduced the child to serfdom. As for him, he was quite contented. Thus, the intervention of the administration and the law are hardly possible most of /112/ the time, except on the parents' complaint.

In short, the holy war, the apostolate martial and [177] religious conquest, all the faculties for the expansion of Islam, are transformed by Ouolof Muridism. They become: the monopolizing of available land, the intensive development of fields, the conquest of the markets in the railroad stops, and the usurpation of all branches of local production. It is all to the good, it would seem, that this communistic [474] organization of the Murids is assuming the character of an agricultural and commercial syndicate and operates in the economic realm.

The administration, which is equally indifferent to the Murids of Amadou Bamba, the Tidiania Murids, and all other confessions in the religious field, should only be concerned, it seems, with watching this commercial and agricultural expansion, and making sure that the ardor of the Bamba does not lead them to encroach upon the rights of others and in particular to provoke agrarian conflicts by their offhandedness.

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Chapter IV

The Consequences of Muridism from a Political and Administrative Standpoint

*795 798 It is interesting to note in the circles involved and elsewhere the diversity of opinions about the Murids. Some see in Muridism a vast and dangerous secret organization whose aim is to gather together all the Moslem believers in West Africa and /113/ toss the Europeans into the sea. It is even rumored that the Pan-Islamic schemes of the East are not alien to this movement. It is also said with more conviction that, while awaiting this great day of triumph for Islam, Amadou Bamba is sending most of his alms to Morocco to aid the natives' resistance in the good struggle of the Holy War. Others,on the other hand, see in Muridism an insignificant religious brotherhood, through which an ordinary marabout, the inventor of superior gri-gris and preacher of the most flexible of moralities, exploits as much as he can the credulous natives who deprive themselves for his benefit.

*795 648 The truth seems to lie between these two extremes.

It is first necessary to refute the accusations of Pan-Islamism, even of incitement of foreign powers, which are sometimes brought against Muridism. One should take into account the tremendous difficulties of communication which divide Senegal from the East, both by land and by sea. One can count the Ouolof who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and there are none among the Bamba Murids. As for agents who preach and instigate riots, the East does not send any here, and the few Moroccans who live in the railroad stops are known to all and may be regarded--there is no question about this--as peaceful traders who wish to make some money and then return to their families in Fez.

Thus, when the Turkish press (article of 31 January 1913) declaims on the defeats of the Ottoman armies: "The blood of Islam was boiling. Four hundred million

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*795 648 Moslems were mourning for the dishonored faith, and curses rose to the heavens," this should be regarded merely as rhetorical exaggeration. The Islamized Ouolof have never felt dishonored by the victories of the Balkan allies; their geographical knowledge does not extend that far, not even as far (except for /114/ a dozen learned men) as Turkey's existence.

On the other hand, it may be stated that there is no relationship between the Bamba Murids and the Moroccan tribes who are fighting for their independence and the bands of El-Hiba who support the aims of this ambitious marabout. If this pretender does receive various subsidies, this could only be through the agency of his uncle, Saad Bouh, local sheik of the Qadria-Fadelia branch in southern Mauritania and Senegal. And even this would have to be proved. The financial situation of Saad Bouh does not seem to be bright, and he, more than anyone else, needs the alms that he receives with growing difficulty. The Murids of Amadou Bamba acknowledge no master but their Sérigne. The latter, if he sends large sums to Mauritania--and this seems to be unquestionable--sends them to his protector, teacher, and spiritual father, Sheik Sidia, leader of the Qadria-Lessidia brotherhood. Now, one knows both the bonds of friendship which unite Sheik Sidia to the French authorities and the open hostility that separates him in every way from the path of the Qadria-Fadelia, be it the southern branch with Sheik Saad Bouh or the northern branch with Mohammed El-Hiba. One can thus be assured that his subsidies will not go to these hostile colleagues.

In any case, there should be proof with some accurate facts, or at least some initial proof, of these relationships of the Ouolof Murids with the blue bands or the Berber tribes. Now, in view of the distance between the respective habitats of these peoples, the absence of all communication, the differences of language, customs, and interests, such relationships have never existed. It is

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*795 [648] yet to be proved that they have arisen recently.

This is why one may conclude that the worries expressed by the colonial commission of the General Council (session of 15 March 1909) and more recently by /115/ the Committee on Commerce and Industry (undated report) are quite exaggerated, and that the acts of giving generous alms to one's sheik, of surrendering one's will to him, of leading a special kind of life, and even of transgressing orthodox Moslem law do not constitute offenses meriting prosecution, or even, in all justice, truly serious grounds for guilt.

Thus, it must be seen that in Muridism there are: the action on a people of a very skillful and very influential marabout, and the reaction of this people and all its customs and traditions on encroaching Islam.

This movement, obviously, has its dangers.

First of all, there is a possible danger: this is the grouping under one leader of several thousand men who seem to be wholly subject to their sheik and to the Supreme Sérigne, and who, at one word from this leader, might disturb very seriously the general peace. This is the threat of mystical or religious anarchism, leading to public anarchy. But this threat is not peculiar to the Murids of Amadou Bamba; it is common to all the budding or blooming Muridisms in Senegal and elsewhere. It should also be noted that the preachings of Amadou Bamba have never ventured openly into the political realm. If his attitude had been openly hostile, he could not have, despite his vicissitudes, continued in the role of agitator for 25 years. Nowadays, with age and experience, a settled position, and the assurance of considerable revenue, he is a conservative, and whatever his designs for politico-religious domination may have been, he seems to have given up all ambitions that are not spiritual or financial.

In any case, his believers are widely scattered. Within [798] the zone of the Murid crescent, there live many adepts of

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*795 [798] other brotherhoods who have sworn real animosity toward Amadou Bamba and /116/his followers and would be only too glad to interfere with their schemes. Finally one must take into account the latent, but very strong jealousy which divides his brothers and lieutenants.

All these reasons should indeed mitigate any fear of a Murid uprising, and as long as new factors do not intervene, one may be calm on this subject.

It is mostly through isolated incidents caused by fanatics, schemers, or blundering sheiks that the Murids of Amadou Bamba may be dangererous, or, more often,
578 troublesome. Aside from various crimes (Kaolack, Rufisque)
*795 blamed on them, but in which they were not involved, there are still various incidents for which they are responsible:

In the circle of Louga, at Ndiagne (Diambour), where they caused disturbances in the village and wounded the chief and the notables, who refused to follow the path of Amadou Bamba (1912);

In the circles of Cayor, Baol, and Sine-Saloum, where they led astray women and children, took them to their villages, and made veritable slaves of them (1910-1913);

In the circles of Thiès and Sine-Saloum, where their untimely preaching has often caused disturbances in Moslem or fetishistic villages (1910-1913);

Almost everywhere, where by threats, pernicious advice, and charlatanic practices which amount to veritable swindles, they have plundered or caused to be plundered the credulous natives and over-trusting tradesmen;

Along the railroad line, where their monopoly of land has sometimes given rise to violent protests by the previous occupants (1910-1913);

And even in a company of Senegalese infantrymen in Thiès, among whom a schemer preached desertion to the Sérère recruits (May 1911).

/117/ These are regrettable incidents which

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*795 578 unpleasantly disturb public peace, and severe repression may intervene without fear in such cases; it would have the general approval of the natives. The malefactors and adventurers of all sorts who surround the Murid sheiks and live at their expense often have an important role in all these deeds, and it might be useful to determine their responsibility and act upon it.

*795 578 632 In administrative matters the most sensitive point among these consequences of Muridism is the tension that exists in certain cantons between the sheiks, the disciples of Amadou Bamba, and the native chiefs who represent our authority.

The Murids who obey the French commanders without ado readily become rebellious and insolent vis-à-vis the native chiefs. They pretend not to acknowledge them, claiming to be subject only to their spiritual sheik. When the chief transmits an order from the administrator to them, they demand confirmation by their sérigne. This passive, and sometimes clearly harmful resistance is exasperating to the native chiefs and may provoke local conflicts. Here, too, the remedy is easy. All these attempts at a substitution of authority, which the Murid sheiks desire only for their own profit, should be stopped, and the authority of the regular chief in his district should be affirmed in all its force.

*795 651 Two important points might serve as touchstones for the attitude of the Murids vis-à-vis the orders of the French authorities:

Taxes;

Military service.

[708] Now, in none of the circles involved did I hear a single criticism on this score from the circle commanders. The men requested have been supplied without complaint. /118/ The taxes have been paid with the greatest regularity.

The Mbaké-Darou-Touba (Baol) grouping, an active seat of Muridism, had settled its personal taxes completely by 20 January 1913. From this particular standpoint, the tax

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*795 651 collectors undoubtedly regret that all the taxpayers are not Murids.

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Part III

Conclusions

121 After having studied the organization of the Murids and their beliefs, after having followed step by step the influence of these doctrines in all aspects of native life, it is necessary to summarize in an over-all judgment the spirit and the scope of the Muridism of Amadou Bamba and to draw practical conclusions. Otherwise, this work would be merely scholarship, which, no matter how interesting, would provide no efficacious help for out political action.

Chapter I

Over-all Judgement

*795 178 This vast grouping of human beings, who, numbering about 70,000 have massed behind the religious banner of one of their own people, is a truly new confession for which Islam is merely a façade. It marks a stage in the transformation of the Ouolof people. In it, /120/ one perceives all the tendencies of the natives toward anthropomorphism and its practical result: anthropolatry. These Blacks, touched by Mohammedism, are returning to their ancient beliefs, to the worship of a man, the human fetish, to the cult of the saints. The religious wave of Islam has gone by, and behind it, one again sees all the individuals of one race grouping around a local religious focus; all their spiritual, social, and legal powers are turning instinctively in the direction of the ancestral beliefs and practices; all of their economic faculties are

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*795 concentrated around persons who, through a mysterious
178 foresight or a remarkable practical sense, have set themselves up as the representatives of these vague yearnings.

In this vast political play, the principal actor is not Amadou Bamba. It is the chorus which plays the primary role.

*795 Islam has remained powerless before the institutions
178 of customary law, without influence upon the customs and traditions of social and domestic life. On the contrary, it is the spirit of the native race that took hold of the Islamic doctrine that tried to supplant its religious beliefs; it adopted it and then cast it in the mold of its own personal concepts, and it is in this fashion that these souls, ever troubled by religious needs, satisfied themselves.

Like the lower castes of India which are becoming Islamized today, the Murids have been attracted by the prestige of Islam, which seems to raise them in the social scale. They th[illegible] admitted it into their temple, but the place of honor that they have given it is not the principal place. They have retained from Islam only that gesture which they found pleasing. "It is good to salaam." Everything else, the principal part, doctrine, ethics, cult practices, is unknown or transformed by contact with the ancient practices and beliefs. Thus, to some extent, this is a reaction of the Ouolof soul to Islam, /121/ the revenge of custom and of the ancestors on the imported religion.

All the borrowings from the law of the Prophet are surface borrowings: positions and formulas in religious matters; external practices in social matters; formal procedure in legal matters.

*795 Islam, a spiritualistic religion, was not understood.
178 Like the Quirites of early Rome, the natives continue to make their little ritual contracts with the superior forces of nature and the spirits. Sanctity, to them, is to some extent the science of grigris. The holiest man is the cleverest one,
[792] the one who had the perspicacity to discover the best talismans. The day when the rumor spread that the supreme

1: Marty--106 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal
Wolof MS30

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*795 178 grigri had been discovered, the living fetish, the one who took it upon himself to protect against all dangers, to deliver from all worries, to satisfy all needs, everyone gathered behind him, and he was elected the representative of the divinity.

And today the Murids, without worldly or celestial worries, use all their forces in the frantic labor that the spiritual leaders of the movement thrust upon them for their great profit.

When slavery was abolished, they felt and appreciated the benefits of freedom. Nevertheless, a few years later, they came of their own volition to live in servitude under the rod of a marabout, and the authorities are still disarmed in the face of this new kind of slavery, voluntary and religious in form.

*795 177 The history of Senegalese politics since 1850 corroborates these conclusions. Everyone knows--especially the natives--that it was Faidherbe who, inaugurating a new policy shortly after 1850, based it on /122/ the prestige of Islam and the services of all sorts which could be obtained from the more gifted and more intelligent Moslems.

The Ouolof, who had undergone a first Islamization before the fifteenth century, had since shaken off these alien doctrines to return to the totality of their traditions. In the first half of the nineteenth century, custom was intact and religious beliefs had hardly been changed. It was from 1850 on that Islam gradually implanted itself through the propaganda of its missionary marabouts; through the esteem that the authorities seemed to grant to its adepts by readily utilizing their services and by hardly utilizing any but theirs, and also--it must be said--through the simplicity of the act of faith that it requires, through the ease of its morality and the ornamental solemnity of its

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cult.

Later on, and in the same spirit, the Moslem magistracy of the cadis was created in its entirety.

Thus, the Ouolof areas were Islamized by means of the French peace and under the cover of a domination that certainly viewed without concern this religious unification, the prelude to an easier political expansion and a simpler administrative unification.

The reaction is being felt at the present day: first and foremost, an internal reaction on the part of the natives themselves, who distort the Islamic faith that was only very superficially instilled into them; secondly, a reaction of [798] the local administrative authorities, who, as keepers of the public order, often have a kind of phobia about Islam, which has generated disturbances and which for some time now has taken on suspicious appearances of nationalism or universal domination.

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This movement of reaction is thus neither isolated nor without cause. It would be manifested in another form among the /123/ Ouolof if one were to embark on the stupid enterprise--which no one is considering--of trying to combat it in the religious realm. It would be manifested (or rather, it is undoubtedly manifested) in phenomena which are latent among the other races or Islamized Black peoples, but it does not always appear so clearly. The garment of Islam, simple and comfortable as it may be, was not tailored for the Blacks: they recut it to fit them and adorn it to their taste.

Are there not groupings of Murids of the same kind in the Qadria of Sheik Bou Kounta in Cayor, the Tidiania of El-Hadj Malik throughtout Senegal, and the Limamou of Sheik Limamou Laye at Yof and its environs?

The latter is barely surviving; it lacked favorable circumstances to develop with the profusion of Bambism.

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*795 178 The first two however, are in full flower and undoubtedly are as important as Bamba Muridism. Nevertheless, the deferential and loyalist attitude of their sheiks, as well as their more reasonable, less exaggerated teachings, have not drawn unfavorable attention to them.

*795 178 171 Finally, it must be said that this fermentation of the native soul is not peculiar to Senegal.

While in Mauritania a strong proportion of Semitic blood and identical conditions of physical milieu and socio-economic life have, through unbroken traditions of Arabic faith and culture, preserved an Islam very close to that of the East, the situation has not been the same among other peoples.

The farther and to the degree that Islam is removed from its cradle, eastward as well as westward, as the peoples and the conditions change, it is more and more distorted; and the Islamic confessions, whether Malay or Chinese, Berber or Nigritian, are but crude /124/ counterfeits of the religion and state of civilization of the "sublime Koran."

And what interesting comparisons can be made between the beliefs of the Berbers and those of the Blacks! Many vestiges permit one to suspect that beyond Islam and in days long past there were multiple exchanges. But the Maraboutism of the Berbers remains moderate. However great the holiness and influence of Sidi Bou Choiaib, Azemmour, or Sidi Bel-Abbès, of Marrakech, temples were built to them only after their death; the Maraboutism of the Blacks leads without transition to anthropolatry, even during the Saint's lifetime.

As far as Black Africa is concerned, the most eminent Orientalists, like the explorers and missionaries, like the career administrators, are unanimous in their opinion.

From Professor Edward Browne, of Cambridge: "Provided that one states that there is no God but God and that Mohammed is the apostle of God, and that one conforms

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*795 178 171 outwardly to Moslem law, one may interpret the words "God" and "apostle" very nearly as he wishes. This is why one sees so many heterodox sects born of Islam, among which one can find anything he wishes in the matter of dogma and discipline, from the most absolute monotheism, or from the crudest anthropomorphism, to the most refined pantheism, and from the most rigid austerity to the most complaisant hedonism." (Questions dipl. et col. 15 May 1901.)

From Mr. C. Janssen, Honorary Governor of the State of the Congo. "In Africa, the Islamism now practiced by a number of Negroes has a simplicity that is quite primitive, and the Blacks who have entered the Islamic movement hardly know what it is. They mechanically imitate the rites of men from /125/ Zanzibar and the Sudan, believing that they are thus raising themselves to their level." (Debate at the Institut Solway.)

Captain Meynier and Mr. Delafosse reach the same conclusions for the Moslem states of the eastern Sudan (A travers l'Afrique /Crossing Africa/) and for the Islamized peoples of the French Sudan (Haut-Sénégal-Niger).

It is thus along this path that the Islamized black peoples seem to be traveling, and for them Muridism seems [186] to be the necessary form of the religion and perhaps a vague expression of patriotism. They tend to reorganize themselves in autonomous groupings under the leadership of an omnipotent marabout, and they adapt Islam, formerly welcomed more or less willingly, to their mentality and traditions.

There is in this a latent feeling of patriotism, that is to say, not, as for us, the expression of our national consciousness and of our historic past, but a hereditary attachment to their ancestors, their customs, their social state, and a gathering of all their energies around a local religious center. This birth travail will lead to the formation of a series of various Islamic confessions, in which the soul of

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* 795 178 171 each people will be reflected and which will have very little in common.

This is why there seems to be no reason for taking matters too seriously. What will be the harm when in half a century the Islamized peoples of Senegal are divided into five or six different sects, quite distinct from one another, all the more distinct because each sect will be a local product, and these religious rivalries will be added to the animosities of race? Mr. Delafosse, whose knowledge in this matter is universally recognized, does not fully accept these conclusions for the Sudan. Speaking of the consequences which might be brought about by this distortion of Islam, he states that "such results could only be lamentable." Unfortunately, he does not say why.

*795 798 /126/ Even today, the Murids of Amadou Bamba and the Murids of other directions entertain less than cordial relations. They accuse each other of heresy, which they all incontestably deserve if their beliefs are compared to the orthodoxy of the Prophet. These rivalries are not limited to the religious realm. Some villages, affiliated with other brotherhoods, do not want to admit the Murids. Thus, the people of Gabou, who are Tidiania, along the road from Diourbel to Mbaké (Baol), will not permit Murids to cross their territory. In return, the Murids will not tolerate the presence of Tidiania in their compounds.

[491] The Toucouleur who work in the railroad stops of Sine-Saloum and Thiès-Kaffrine, after accumulating some savings, go back to their homeland by way of the Touba-Yan Yan highway. With their variegated boxes on their heads, they pass by the three Murid centers of Mbaké, Darou, and Touba, but they are careful not to stop there. Their desire to avoid the Murids equals the Murids' desire not to receive them.

This hostility does not degenerate into fights in the open country; the administrative authorities keep a strict watch. In the cities, however, where politics blooms like a

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*795 798 tropical flower and permeates everything, it readily turns into newspaper polemics and intrigues of all sorts.

*795 It is difficult to foresee the fate of the Muridism of Amadou Bamba. It is kept alive today, without progressing much, by the presence and the virtues of its founder. But Amadou Bamba is 60 years old; his /127/ natural or violent death might occur at any time. His brothers and lieutenants are too jealous of one another to accept the ascendency of one of them upon his death. Since each is now the acknowledged chief of his village and of his talibés, it is quite probable that the death of Amadou Bamba will result in the splitting up of his Muridism and its fragmentation into as many branches as there are influential sheiks.

Later on, the same causes arising from a need for unification will no doubt bring about a new assemblage around the holiest or most skillful among them, unless a new Prophet rises in Israel and draws Panurge's flock to him.

Chapter II

Political Action

648 The circulars of 22 September 1909 and 26 December 1911 clearly state the directions of our native policy in French West Africa. As far as the attitude of French authority vis-à-vis the local civilizations is concerned, it is summarized in one sentence:

"Absolute and equal respect for all the peoples, our subjects, with regard to their religious faith, their freedom of worship, and their customs and traditions, insofar as they are not contrary to the principles of our civilization."

*795 648 In the light of this program, and now that the field of action is known, it is easy to conclude:

1. The Ouolof Murids have the absolute right to follow the path of Amadou Bamba and to welcome into their

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*795 648 midst the adepts who come to them;

/128/ 2. They do not have the right to practice among the peoples who surround them (Peul, Lebbou, and especially Sérères) and who remain attached to their customary institutions, an Islamic proselytism which arouses general hatred against them and may provoke disturbances.

While we owe our subjects equal neutrality and equal interest, they owe one another the same mutual respect. There is thus reason to avoid deliberately any levelling out under the yoke of Islam. Aside from these conditions, our political actions should bear, it would seem, on the following points:

I. In the circles: (a)Strict surveillance on the part of each circle commander over the Murids of his territory. In practice this surveillance is exercised by the canton chiefs and by political agents. It is easy; the masses are completely in the hands of the sheiks and will do nothing without their orders or advice. It is thus their role and attitude which must be watched closely. Their conversations, their journeys, their receptions, their visits, and their undertakings are of the greatest interest. These sheiks, as has been seen in this report, are widely scattered throughout the Muridized circles; the task of surveillance which falls on each administrator is not a heavy one, except perhaps in Baol, because of the presence of the Sérigne, his entourage, his zaouias, and most of his brothers.

The Qadria of other observances, and especially the Tidiania, may be useful agents for information, but one must [798] never uncritically accept their reports, because it is they who, on many counts, either driven by hatred for the believers of Amadou Bamba or with an aim of blackmail, have given the Murids an unsavory and not always justified reputation. The greatest discretion is required, and it is not difficult to believe that the intelligence /129/ service of the Bamba sheiks is at least as well organized as our own.

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*795 648 Basically, all this surveillance is primarily a matter of political groundwork and intelligence service.

It is often easy, by using the proper forms to induce the marabouts to behave openly. They will easily understand, if it is explained to them with some tactfulness, that it is to their own interest, in order to avoid any misinterpretation on the part of their enemies, never to travel without presenting to the local administrator their respects upon departure and their greetings upon arrival. This is a means of remaining in continuous contact with them and of remaining informed about their projects. And it is easier and more diplomatic to obtain these results from them than to try to impose traveling permits on the masses of pilgrims or the curious.

(b) A policy of isolation of the Murids, both to protect them against all external influences and to prevent them from spreading untimely preachings.

177 *795 Muridism, if left to itself, has a good chance of evolving harmlessly toward the sect of Islam. The natural sympathies of the Black toward the European are such that he attaches no importance to the calls to the holy war of the Book and of the Moslem scholars. It is wholly unnecessary for alien preachings to instill into the Murid Ouolof the spirit of pride and reprobation of the infidel that they do not have. *795 This is why it would be fitting, it seems, to forbid all visits by foreign marabouts, black or white, Qadri or Tidiani. Strictly religious preaching and calls for alms are usually embellished with commentaries on the power of the Moslem states, on the unbelief, error, or tyranny of the Whites, on conscription and native taxes. The marabouts draw from /130/ these facts a philosophy of history which is far from being to our advantage.

*795 648 This moral barrier should also prevent the Murid sheiks from leaving their territory and spreading an out-of-place

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*795 648 propaganda and untimely preachings among the neighboring peoples. The Sérère merit special mention in this connection. In permanent contact to the north and south of the Thiès-Kayes /railroad/ with the Muridized Ouolof (circles of Thiès, Baol, Sine-Saloum), they are totally impervious to their inducements, and all Islamic religious activity, especially Murid, provokes conflicts among these fetishistic peoples who are very attached to their customary institutions. It is to be feared that such hostility will some day degenerate into armed fights and bloody battles. The Murid sheiks should thus be requested to cease all religious propaganda among the neighboring peoples, while native chiefs would be ordered to expel, according to custom, any individual who, by his remarks, attacks the local institutions 000 and disturbs public tranquility. On this point we may draw practical conclusions from the example of the brotherhood of the Semusi in Tripolitania. In less than half a century, the Senusi missionaries, with their freedom of movement, have Islamized three quarters of the Tripolitanian Berbers, who had withstood all encroachment for fourteen centuries. The Italians can testify today to the difficulties created for them by the cement of this Islamization.

*795 [674] (c) A repressive action, immediate and vigorous, for all infractions of the common law committed by fanatics or troublemakers. These infractions are ordinarily: the abductions of young men and young girls, followed by a new kind of bondage; instances of harmful disobedience vis-à-vis the native chiefs; swindles or charlatanic practices; /131/ untimely, irreverent, or dangerous preaching; and fights with blows and injuries. The native tribunals (of the circles or subdivisions) are sufficiently armed to repress any offenses of this kind, and the Moslem governments themselves (Ottoman, Egyptian, and the sherif governments of Mecca and Morocco) give us daily proof of just severity with regard to politico-religious wrongdoers.

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*795 798 It is well, however, to avoid carefully any legal prosecutions which might be misconstrued as religious persecution. Heretic innovations and distortions of Koranic law do not in themselves constitute a punishable infraction, as certain native tribunals have believed, at the present time, no matter how numerous and precise the relevant Moslem legal texts may be.

*795 [497] (d) An immediate study of the native land system in the circles mentioned, and especially in those crossed by the Thiès-Kayes railroad: the circles of Thiès, Baol, Sine-Saloum, Niani-Ouli, and Bakel. The Murids travel along the line and incessantly establish new colonies. This movement is interesting and testifies to a real understanding of the situation on the part of the sheiks. It aims directly at the utilization of the natural resources, now made possible by the presence of the railroad. Finally, in certain aspects it enters into the views of the circular of 5 March 1913 on the subject of our agrarian policies with regard to the natives. In other aspects, however, it may give rise to local conflicts. The Murids, indeed, do not stand on ceremony in occupying the lands they covet, to which prior claims incontestably exist, even though it is true, they are more or less well-founded. The local customs concerning land should be studied so that the nature of these rights over immovable property would be definitely established and /132/ a set of regulations, or, if necessary, several sets of regulations, could be instituted for these colonizing groupings. The modes of occupation or acquisition of the lands would be anticipated, the rights of the first owners safeguarded, and the contracts determined. It would also be well to see that these efforts at colonization do not result in the concentration of numerous and large domains in the hands of a few sheiks, or in the creation of collective and impersonal latifundia.

These conclusions follow naturally from the general directives so clearly and so justly enunciated in the circular

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*995 cited above. There should be a detailed work for each circle, corresponding to these general instructions. The rights of the natives, the first occupants, will truly be safeguarded only if we can first, before any conflict, extract them from the tangle of local custom.

This economic development of the region will then proceed in the easiest possible way, both for the Murids and for the other native colonists, it will facilitate the appearance of family communities and of individual property; and there will not rise, as there has been reason to fear in certain places, an irritating agrarian problem. This matter seems to merit an immediate solution.

II. To the Government of Senegal

800 The Lieutenant-Governor of Senegal should undertake a program of centralization and co-ordination of information. It is of the greatest importance that this administrator should always be kept informed of every act and gesture of the Murid sheiks. Certain information that a circle commander is sometimes tempted not to /133/ transmit because it seems insignificant to him may, on the contrary, through its recurrence in other circles, draw the attention of the head of political services and enable him to act at the opportune time. If the natives have a force of mystery and often of duplicity superior to us, we are superior to them in the sense of co-ordination of efforts and the superiority of admirable administrative discipline.. Such advantages should not be wasted.

It is this soundness and accuracy of information that will permit the Lieutenant-Governor of Senegal to follow attentively the Murid movement as a whole and to give useful directives methodically and with full knowledge of the facts.

Various means are at his disposal: his direct intervention may be used at times to advantage in dealing with re-
*995 calcitrant sheiks. The Murid chiefs, beginning with Amadou Bamba, are not very confident about the situation at the present time. They feel that the exploits of several of them

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*795 have given them a bad reputation. Administrative pressure on the part of a personage as respected as the head of the colony, and clear, but discreet threats concerning their persons or their property might in certain cases have the most felicitous results.

Furthermore, there are differences prevailing between the sons and lieutenants of Amadou Bamba that may be usefully exploited. Sheik Anta, Mbakě Bousso, Ibra Fal, and Ibra Fati are at the present time the most obvious pretenders, whose ambitions are least concealed, to the spiritual succession of Amadou Bamba. Others, such as Amadou Ndoumbé, Masemba, and Ibra Sar, are in the second rank, with less assurance perhaps, but just as much desire. It would thus be politically clever to maintain an even balance among them and to use their rivalries in order to subdue them.

/134/ All these sheiks have reached an age where the character is formed and not very malleable and does not readily yield to subjection. Why should not the eldest son of Amadou Bamba, Mohammed Mostafa, follow the same course? He is a young man of 23 or 24, educated, intelligent, and rather shy. He is at an age where receptivity is still considerable, and he will be more manageable with regard to our undertaking. He is aware of the fact that if he wants to become someone, he can do so only through us. His father, who tries to maintain a balance among all possible candidates to his succession, could only approve this solution; it would be another reason for him to draw closer to us. This, it seems, is the real solution of the Murid problem in the future, and even in a way at present.

Amadou Bamba and his son seem delighted with this arrangement, of which they have had a glimpse. The Administrator of Baol recently introduced Mohammed Mostafa in Saint-Louis. This introduction had the most desirable results in the Sérigne's entourage; it may mark the beginning of a new and discreet political plan of action, in which we are sure to have Amadou Bamba on our side, harassed as he undoubtedly is with the problems of a father and of the head of an order.

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III. In Native Teaching

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The Sérigne Amadou Bamba has of late made several pledges to the Administrator of Baol:

He has promised in substance:

1. That a certain number of the children who attend his schools will be taught the French language;

2. That later, some of them will be sent to the Médersa in Saint-Louis to become teachers;

/135/ 3. That he would have several cultivators from among his disciples take the agricultural courses that will be given at the future Baol station.

He has confirmed these promises in a recent letter to the Lieutenant-General of Senegal.

These are practical results whose immediate value and future import are evident, and which are already on the road to realization.

The Médersa in Saint-Louis had among its pupils of last year a Murid student, a relative of Amadou Bamba, who is capable of becoming an excellent teacher. The Sérigne sent him to Mbaké (Baol) to stay with his brother, Momar Diara. He will give French lessons in the school of that village, at Amadou Bamba's expense, to the young pupils in the Koranic courses.

On the other hand, the reorganization of the Diourbel school, anticipated for this coming October 1st by the Supervisor of Instruction of French West Africa, will enable the young Murids, boys and girls, in the Sérigne's entourage to attend these classes at specific hours.

As for the other promises, it will be easy to request their fulfillment from Amadou Bamba when circumstances permit. He might very well, for instance, send two of his young disciples to the Médersa in Saint-Louis when classes reconvene.

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IV. Amadou Bamba

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793 This Sérigne is now on the way to settling down once and for all at Diourbel. At least this is what he claims to counter the attacks which he feels are being made upon him by his enemies, and to show his spirit of obedience to the administration which has designated this settlement as his obligatory residence. He still has one final step to /136/ make in order to realize his plan, which carried him from Souet-el-Ma to Thiéène and from Thiéène to Diourbel. He wants to enter Touba in triumph and to settle there as the grand master of the order of the Murids and as a powerful religious leader. In that rather remote spot, beyond the immediate surveillance of the French authorities, he will organize in complete independence his life, that of his zaouïa, and that of his order; he will lead active Murid propaganda in complete freedom.

These are projects which for a long time must have been the subject of his prayers to the Almighty. Similar causes produce similar effects: if he were to return to Touba, Amadou Bamba would be overwhelmed by the enthusiasm of his disciples and by the disparagement and calumnies of his enemies. The experiences of the past should be profitable. Amadou Bamba is well located at Diourbel under the immediate surveillance of an administrator. He feels very confined there mentally, and his hands are practically tied, but since outwardly he has freedom of movement, it is difficult for him to don a martyr's crown. This is the very best of solutions. The slight disturbance which might result from his schemes and the political interventions to which he may have given or may yet give rise are preferable to the serious difficulties of all kinds which his return to Touba would cause.

His material establishment at Diourbel was quite primitive until last month. It might be retorted that it was up to him to improve upon it; funds are not lacking. In any case, since he is responding to the policy of conciliation which has

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always been practiced toward him, the mental situation seems to have improved and trust has revived. Once he is established on the Diourbel plateau, he will be quite comfortable there and will enjoy, as he puts it, "all that he wishes in this inferior and perishable world." He will have to remain there, it seems, as long as the present state of affairs continues. At best, as an experiment, he may be permitted /137/ in two or three years, when the now somewhat acute problem of the Murids has abated, to make a few short visits and inspection tours to his zaouïa in Touba, if he promises that the greatest tranquility will prevail.

Amadou Bamba knows that negotiations were undertaken a few months ago by Ibra Fal and Sheik Anta with certain persons, political and otherwise, in Senegal. Their intervention was requested either with the Governor-General or even with the government in Paris. It was undoubtedly the Sérigne who pressed his brothers and lieutenants to do this, remembering that his return from Gabon in 1902 had been due in large part to such intervention.

Nowadays, Amadou Bamba seems to have regained a sounder view of things and to have put away what has jokingly been referred to, election style, as "The Manual of the Efficient Corrupter."

When I left Diourbel, he told me that a little later he would give me clear proof of his good intentions and total submission. An open avowal no doubt would have been embarrassing to him, and he wanted to avoid any requests for additional explanations. Two days later at Kaolack, I was visited by one of his emissaries who announced, in his name, in precise terms: "I have given a formal order to Ibra Fal and Sheik Anta to stop all proceedings and all payments of money to persons with a warrant /mandat/in Dakar and Saint-Louis." This statement, if it is accurate, when taken together with the other facts mentioned above, perhaps permits hope of a change of attitude on the part of Amadou Bamba.

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V. In the Realm of Native Law

000 Koranic law was a real improvement over the pre-Islamic customs of the Arabs. It is not such an improvement, on the whole, over the customs of the natives.

562 The latter, although their culture is inferior, are
neither savages nor primitives. The position of women--the
touchstone of a civilization--is quite high among the Ouolof
and approaches in large part the position of the European
779 woman. Owing to our presence--and without exceptions--the
Islamized religious customs are simple and gentle; they do
[788] not demand excessive and distant pilgrimages, they do not
preach holy war or even an exaggerated apostolate. Their
[177] religious ethics are not inferior to Islamic ethics, which are
very weak here in all the matters where they might have a
beneficial influence. Custom authorizes the use of wine,
the reproduction of beings, the origin of the arts, and the
needs of science. It shows much respect and no hostility toward the Whites, their civilization, their religion, and their
arts; it acknowledges their superiority in all things and ad-
177 mits as a matter of course their political supremacy. Custom
779 is modifiable in contact with us; it shows this day by day as
it undergoes transformations and is completed by borrowings
from our customs and our laws. Moslem law is difficult to
change. The modifications that infidels such as we introduce
into it are always ill-regarded and judged as arbitrary acts
by the true believers.

000 Thus, what would the fetishistic Blacks gain by being Islamized, or those who are Islamized by becoming perfect Moslems? And for our part, would it be advisable to add to the problems of the /139/ political occupation of the country the dangers of a social revolution? Should the evolution of the natives be hastened toward an alien civilization while we do not dare--and do not wish--to push them toward our own civilization?

It is desirable that from the top to the bottom of the judiciary ladder, all the jurisdictions, without being entrapped

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by the Moslem act of faith, whose real import was explained above, apply in earnest the whole of native custom, first of all, because the texts governing the matter make it a clear duty, and secondly because they will be convinced that this solution is the best for the interests of the Blacks, as well as for those of France and those of civilization.

It is thus that, by means of an enlightened, utilitarian policy, there is reason to hope that the present situation, and up to a point the immediate future of this Murid question, will lead merely to local and quickly resolved difficulties, and that all threats of public disorders will be resolutely dispelled.

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Appendices

Attached to the Report to the Governor General
on the Murids of Amadou Bamba

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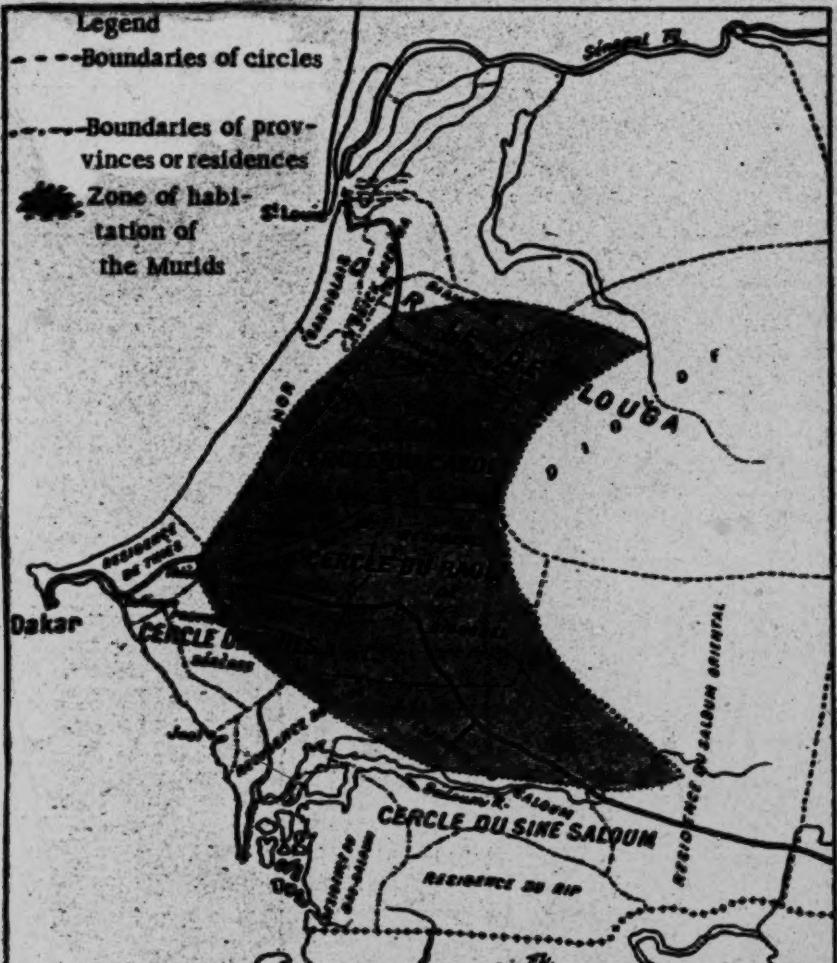
Appendix No. 1


Legend
- - - -Boundaries of circles
-·-·-Boundaries of provinces or residences
Zone of habitation of the Murids
Senegal Fl.
St Louis
LOUGA
CERCLE DU BAOL
RESIDENCE DE THIES
Dakar
CERCLE DU SINE SALOUM
RESIDENCE DU RIP
RESIDENCE DU SALOUM ORIENTAL
Saloum R.
Joal
Gambie Fl.
GAMBIE ANGLAISE

Geographical schema of the Murid confession.

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Appendix No. 2

General enumeration by circles of all the Murids of Amadou Bamba.

Circle of Baol	33,000
Circle of Sine Saloum	1,000
Circle of Thiès	5,080
Circle of Cayor	28,000
Circle of Louga	1,000
Dakar	140
Saint-Louis	150
Total	68,350

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Appendix No. 3

Genealogy of the M'baké family.

			Mohammed.
			Amadou Bousso.
		Momar Diara.	Sheik Abd El-Qader
			Mohammed Lamine.
	Diara Bousso.		Mohammed Mostafa.
			Mohammed Fadel.
		Amadou Bamba.	Mohammed Lamine.
			Mohammed Bachir.
	Momar.	Ibra Fati	Ibrahim.
Mballa.	Fatia Diop		Mohammed El-Habib.
			Mohammed Mostafa.
Mbaké.	Antasali.	Sheik Anta.	Ibrahim.
			Sérigne.
	Anta N'Diaye.	Amadou Mbaké.	
		Niang.	Amadou.
		Sheik Tioro.	Mohammed.
	Thioro Diop.	Mballa Mbaké	Mohammed.
		[redacted]	
	Hafsa Diabhaté.	Sheik Hafsa.	Fati Benta (daughter)
	Issa Dièye.	Masemba.	Mohammed.
	Ibra Mbaké.	Amor M'baké.	

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Appendix No. 4

Genealogy of the Bousso Family.

Sérigne Mohammed Bousso.
- M'baké Bousso (Wife: Kadia, half sister of Amadou Bamba).
  - Amadou.
  - Alioune.
- (Wife: Sheik El-Hadj Bousso Rokiata, full sister of Amadou Bamba.)
  - Momar Bousso.
  - Bou Baker.

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Appendix No. 5

Circle of Baol (Diourbel.)

Enumeration by cantons of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

Names or cantons	Number of Murids	Number of Islamized	Number of Total Population	Races that Inhabit the Canton
Diack	785		15,980	Sérère.
Fandène	1,513		11,117	Ouolof
Guéoul	9,528		16,441	--
Dondolle	378		13,492	Sérère
Pègué	1,768		12,918	Ouolof
Thiépe	4,097		14,929	---
Ndadène	861		9,551	Sérère
Kontor	809		3,438	Peul
Diette Salao	6,142		12,185	Ouolof
Ngoye	760		13,507	Sérère
La	5,645		16,221	Ouolof and Peul
Mbayar-Bidiar	633		26,051	Sérère
Total	32,919	86,000	161,830	

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Appendix No. 6
Circle of Baol (Diourbel)
List of the principal Murid marabouts, their origins, and their residences.

Names	Origins	Residences	Observations
Amadou Bamba	Ouolof	Diourbel	
Mokhtar Penda	"	"	
Houna Fal	"	"	
Abd Allah Diao	"	"	
Sheik Diop	"	"	
Abd Allah Diop	"	"	
Momar Khari	"	"	
Amadou N'Doaye Diop	"	"	nephew of A. Bamba.
Amadou N'Doumbé	"	"	
Bachir Cissé	"	"	
Issa Diène	"	"	
Mohammed Mostafa	"	Touba	son of A. Bamba.
Mohammed Bachir	"	"	id.
Masemba	"	"	brother of A. Bamba.
Amadou Fadiame	"	"	
Abderrahman Ould Mohammed	"	"	
Momar Mbaké Ould Said	"	"	nephew of A. Bamba.
Sheik Mbaké Bousso	"	Darou	brother-in-law of A. B.
Sheik El-Hadj Bousso	"	"	id.
Abd El-Qader Ould Moulay Nacer	"	"	nephew of A. Bamba.
Alioune Ould Moulay Nacer	"	"	id.
Momar Diara	"	Mbaké	brother of A. Bamba.
Sheik Anta	"	Gaouane	id.
Balla Mbaké	"	"	id.
Youssef Babou	"	"	
Amadou Guèye	"	"	
Moudoune Kassé	"	"	

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Names	Origins	Residences	Observations
Sérigne Mbaye	Ouolof	Gaouane	
Amadou Dieng Babou	"	"	
Momar Fati	"	"	nephew of Sh. Anta.
Amadou Bator	"	"	
Gora Bakhoume	"	Toakhamé	
Bira Bigué Dieng	"	Thièpe	
Masemba Fal	"	"	
Matari Mbaké	"	"	
Amadou Digol	"	K. Amadou Digol	
Manel Fal	"	Thiapi (nea Bambey)	former head of canton.
Momar Fal	"	Garam-Guéoul	
Mostafa Silla	"	Lambaye	former cadi.
Sérigne Alioun Diouf	"	"	
Meltoufa Khari	"	"	
Amadou Mbaye	"	Palène Khombole	former cadi.

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Appendix No. 7
Circle of Sine-Saloum
Enumeration by residences and canton of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

		Murids			
		Sérignes[1]	Talibés	Islamized[2]	Total population
Residence of Saloum. Cantons of:	Kaolack Laghem	4	36		
	Kahone	4	9		
	Nguer	1	4		
	Diokoul Goudiaye	5	5		
	Total	14	54	18,193	42,668
Residence of Sine Cantons of:	Diakhao	2	18		
	Dioine	6	0		
	Diouroup Djilas	0	0		
	Songhaï	0	0		
	Maroutte	11	91		
	Gayokèime	2	11		
	Total	21	120	12,697	86.616
		0	0		
Residence of Lower Saloum	Nimbato		[illegible]		
	Djilor	0	0		
	Total			15,419	19,508
Residence of Rip	Oualo-Kayemor	2	0		
	Saback-Rip	1	5		
	Niom-Rip	2	16		
	Total	5	21	19,301	20,850

[1] [i.e., one followed by disciples--Analyst]
[2] [i.e., disciples--Analyst]

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		Murids[2]		Islami-	Total pop-
		Sérignes	Talibés	lized	ulation
Residence of East Saloum	Ndoukoumane-Pakalla	4	18		
	Koungheul	2	22		
	Total	6	40	10,742	13,284
	General Total	281		76,352	182,926

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Appendix No. 8
Circle of Sine-Saloum
List by residences and cantons of the principal Murid marabouts, their origins, their residences, their spiritual fathers, and the number of their talibés.[1]

Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	No. of Talibés
Residence of Saloum (Kaolack).				
Canton of Kaolack-Laghem.				
Tamsir Moussa Paté	Ouolof.	Pakatia.	Amadou Bamba.	11
Omar Diouf	"	Mbadiou.	Tamsir Moussa.	
Babakar N'Diaye	"	Mbouma.	Amadou Bamba.	4
Massakho Sakho	"	Tahoua.	Ibra Fati.	21
Canton of Kahone.				
Amadou Cissé.	"	Bill.	Amadou Fadiame.	7

[1] [i.e. disciples --Analyst]

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Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	No. of Talibés
Ndéné Kabou.	Ouolof.	Gagneck.	Ibra Fati.	
Abdoulaye. N'Diaye.	"	"	Sheik Anta.	2
Momar N'Dao.	"	Tiakala.	Amadou Fadiame.	
Canton of Nguer.				
Tioumba K[illegible]adji.	"	Maouel.	Sheik Anta.	4
Canton of Diokoul Ganâiaye.				
Makhoudia Dieng.	"	Diokhoul.	Amadou Bamba.	2
Matar Sakho.	Sérère	"	Mamadou Cissé.	1
Baba N'Diaye.	"	Ngodj.	Makhoudia Dieng.	
Biramou Sène.	Ouolof	Soukhoupe.	Amadou Bamba.	
Mamadou Sek.	"	Keur Galoup	Ibra Fati.	2

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Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	No. of Talibés
Residence of Sine (Fatick).				
Circle of Diakhao.				
Alioune Sek.	Ouolof	Soupa.	Amadou Niang.	4
Sérigne Ma Fal Niang.	"	Darou. Salam.	Moussa N'Doye.	14
Canton of Dioïne.				
Sérigne Touré.	Ouolof	Mbedap.	Amadou Bamba.	
Mandiaye Sèye.	"	Mbelo Khoute.	Moussa N'Doye.	
Madiop N'Diaye.	"	Gadiagne.	Ibra Fati.	
Aliou Diop.	"	"	Alioune Diouf.	
Ibrahima N'Gom.	"	"	"	
Abdou Kane.	"	Mbetite.	Amadou Bamba.	

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Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	No. of Talibés
Canton of Maroutte.				
Momar Sek.	Ouolof.	Gossas.	Amadou Bamba	7
Amadou Diao.	"	"	" "	12
Ousmane Lo.	Peul.	Patar.	Alioune Ka.	5
Amadou Khari Mbaké.	Ouolof.	Gossas.	Amadou Bamba	24
Alioune Touré.	"	"	" "	9
Momar Thiam.	"	"	" "	8
Babakar Lao.	"	"	" "	2
Abdou Khadir.	Peul.	Patar.	Sheik Ousman.	9
Momar Thian.	Ouolof.	Gossas.	His father Momar	8
Khar Khan	"	"	Banda Kane.	4
Amadou Ba.	Peul.	"	His father Diam Doura.	3
Canton of Gayokhème.				
Matar Niang.	Ouolof.	N'galagne Koé.	Amadou Bamba.	
Modi Toubé.	"	Ngadiagne.	" "	/151/
Residence of Rip (Nioro) Circle of Oualo-Kayemor.				
Abdoulaye N'Diaye	Ouolof.	Ndienguène.	Amadou Bamba.	
Demba Dioba.	"	Ndioufène.	" "	
Canton of Niom Rip.				
Tamsir Ma Ba.	Ouolof.	Touba.	" "	10
Katim Koumba.	"	Djina Katim.	" "	6

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Names	Origins	Resi= dences	Spiritual Fathers	No. of Talibés
Canton of Saback Rip.				
Tamsir Khodia.	Ouolof.	K. Tamsir. Khodia.	Amadou Fadiama.	5
Residence of East Saloum C. of Ndoukoumane - Pakalla				
Aliou Sek.	Ouolof.	Bamba Moussa.	Amadou Bamba.	10
Moussa Sèye.	"	Diolkosse.	Amadou Fadiama.	3
Omar Mèye.	"	Kaffate.	Amadou Bamba.	3
Segni Sar.	"	Dramé.	Amadou Fadiama.	2
Canton of Kougheul.				
Momar Khari Si.	Ouolof.	Sine Matar.	Amadou Mbaké.	12
Mahadame Tiougoun.	"	Diaye Coumda.	Ali Penda Lo.	10

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Appendix No. 9

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To those who know that the author of these lines is a believer, a Moslem, a man who behaves in accordance with the Koran, tradition, and the unanimity of the scholars.

Whoever claims to trace his filiation from the said author and does not behave according to the Koran, tradition, and the unanimity of the scholars is not from him and is not connected with him. No, he is in no way from him.

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795 Monsieur Marty, Minister in charge of Moslem Affairs, I beg you to be convinced yourself, and to inform the French authorities, that the man called Assan Touré has no connection with us, for those who are truly connected with us in all truth, do not oppose the representatives of the Government, but, on the contrary, urge the people to be submissive to them. As it is written in the book, coming from God the Almighty, "Obey God, then obey the Prophet, and the leaders of the times in which you live."

Mohammed ben Mohammed ben
Habiballah (Amadou Bamba)

Appendix No. 10
Circle of Thiès
Genealogy of the Fal Family.

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- Amor Fal
  - Amadou Fal
    - Sheik Ibra Fal
      - Mamadou Falilou (23 years old).
      - Mamadou Mostafa.
      - Amadou Bachir.
      - Momar Fal.
      - Alioun.
      - Four daughters.
    - Sheik Salihou Fal.
      - Amadou Salihou.
      - Mamadou Antá Fal.
      - Ibrahima Fal.
      - Two daughters.
    - Rokia Fal.
      - N'Diaye Rokaïa.

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Appendix No. 11
Circle of Thiès
Enumeration by residences and cantons of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

Residences and Cantons	Number of Murids	Number of Islamized	Total of the General Population	Observations
Residence of Thiès:				
Canton of Thiès	490	3,120	5,400	K. Ibra Fal.
" of Thor-Diander.	10	5,230	10,030	Darou.
Residence of the Sérère provinces:				
Canton of M'Badane Sadsal	30	540	12,120	Sassal.
Canton of Sandoc Diaganiao	"	920	8,540	
Canton of Sao Dimack	"	410	9,260	
Canton of the Diebas	4,300	5,580	13,850	Khaban Tassette.
Residence of the Petite Côte				
Canton of Nianing	50	4,410	7,200	Thiombologe.
Canton of Joal-N'Gohé	200	2,200	5,350	Thiadiaye.
		3,900	11,300	
Totals	5,080	26,400	83,050	

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Appendix No. 12
Circle of Thiès
List by residences and cantons of the principal Murid marabouts, their origins, their residences, and the number of their *talibés*

Names	Origins	Residences	Number of Talibés	Observations
Residence of Thiès.				
Sheik Ibra Fal.	Ouolof.	Thiès: Darou Bafré.	200	
Abdallah Diop, son of Lat Dior.	"	"		ex-head of Mbakol (Cayor).
Amadou Lo	"	"		originally from Gandiole.
N'Diaye Rokia.	"	"		nephew of Sheik Ibra Fal.
Laba Dioum.	"	"		
Masemba N'Diaye.	"	"		
Amadou N'Doaye	"	"		
Residence of the Sérère Provinces (Fissel).				
Amadou Ndoumbé Baké.	Ouolof	Khabane.	100	at Keur Sérigne Amadou.
Abdoulaye Diao.	"	"	80	at Keur Abdoulaye Diao.
Momar Diagne.	"	"	20	at Dialakh.
Issa Diène.	"	"	50	at Touba.
Maïb N'Diaye.	"	"	20	
Amadou Lamine M'Baye.	"	Sassal.	20	

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Names	Origins	Residences	Number of Talibés	Observations
Manik Diop.	Ouolof.	Malamsone.		
Momar Touré.	"	Tassette.	20	at Touré.
Abdou N'Doye.	"	"	20	at N'Doyène.
Sheik Madiop.	"	"	30	at Keur Madiop.
Sérigne Momar Senne	"	Pout.	10	
Laman Malik.	Sérère.	Pognom.		newly converted.
Residence of the Petite Côte (Nianing).				
Alioune Sal.	Ouolof.	Guélor.	50	imprisoned in 1910 for disturbances.

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Appendix No. 13
Circle of Cayor

Enumeration by provinces of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

Provinces	Number of Murids	Number of Islamized	Total Population
Saniakhor.	6,000		
Mbakhol-Mboul.	10,000		
Guet.	12,000		
Total	28,000	133,400	139,150

Note. - The circle of Cayor contains 5,750 inhabitants who are not Islamized.

This number is made up of: about 5,000 Sérère, scattered in the cantons of N'Doute and M'Bar in the province of Saniakhor; 500 Laobé, scattered in the province of Guet; 200 Akou, in the railroad stops; and 50 Mandiago, distributed throughout the circle.

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Appendix No. 14
Circle of Cayor

List by provinces and cantons of the principal Murid marabouts, their origins, their residences, their spiritual fathers, and the number of their talibés.

Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	Number of Talibes
Province of Saniakhor				
Salihou Dieng.	Ouolof	Maka.	Momar Dieng.	10
Makhouria Khandji.	"	Sakh.	Assane Gaye.	7
Balla Goye.	"	Kabh.	Ditialao Gaye.	4
Mamour Thiam.	"	"	Alassane Faye.	4
Samba Tacine Ka.	"	Sioual.	Samba Tacine.	3
Ndioukou Diagne.	"	Mborine.	Solimane Niang	2
Matar Fal.	"	Ndiaye Diambagname.	Masemba Manne	2
Macoumba Guèye.	"	Badar Guèye.	Matar Guèye.	7
Momar Guèye.	"	Taoua.	Ousmane Guèye.	5
Ousmane Guèye	"	"	Samba Khari	5
Balla Guaye.	"	Tiékao.	Birama Guèye	20
Assan Fal.	"	Gouye Mbaye	Amadou Bamba.	10
Mabèye Bèye	"	Médina.	Ibra Fal.	17
Marouba Guèye	"	Gandiaye near Piré.	Amadou Bamba	30

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Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	Number of Talibés
Momar Ouarka Khan	Ouolof.	Kour Momar Ouarka.	Amadou Bamba	20
Sheik Amadou Baké Sar.	"	Keur Moussa Mbaké.	" "	20
Mousa Diaye.	"	Fassel.	"	20
Baba Ngom Khaliomba.	"	Khandane.	"	20
Mamadou Senne.	"	"	"	20
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~~Sheik~~ Mangoné Sek.	Ouolof.	Ndoyène-Piré.	Amadou Bamba	20
Mdiabélé Ndour.	"	Keur Bakar.	"	20
Stop of Tivouane				
Abdoulaye Thiam.	"	Tivaouane.	Marouba Guèye.	5
Matala Mbaye.	"	Tivaouane. (former griot).	Ibra Fal.	8
Alassane Senne.	"	Tivaouane.	Sheik Anta.	7
Ibrahima Diagne	"	"	"	4
Yali Niang.	"	"	Amadou Bamba	
Malik Ndiagne.	"	Tivaouane. (K. Masemba	Sheik Anta.	6 6
Amadou Nar Diop.	"	Tivaouane (former cadi).	Amadou Bamba	
Amadou Guèye Maro	"	Tivaouâne.	Ibra Fal.	15
Balla Diop.	"	Tivaouane. (assessor).	Amadou Bamba	
Amadou Diop.	"	Tivaouane.	"	

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Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	Number of Talibés
Ibrahima Soghe	Ouolof	Tivaouane (Thiendane).	Ibra Fal..	
Province of Mbakol-Mboul.				
Momar Guèye.	"	Messéré.	Amadou Bamba	10
Momar Gaye.	"	Guembé	"	12
Macodou Diop.	"	Nehlhedje.	"	17
Masemba Diop.	"	Mérina.	"	24
Maouedji Thiam.	"	Thiamène.	"	9
Momar Lahma.	"	Gnagame.	"	11
Abdoulaye Fadiaga.	"	Ndiam Nal.	"	12
Momar Sèye.	"	Ndia Hadé.	"	13
Ndari Kane.	"	Kane.	"	18
Amadou Dié Mbaké.	"	Ndiayéne Péri.	"	11
Adama Sal.	"	Darou Salam.	"	35
Sheik Malamine Ndiaye.	"	Kelcom.	"	28
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Yéri Diakhaté.	Ouolof	Kelcom	Amadou Bamba	15
Madiara Gnane.	"	Mékbé.	"	5
Ma Hafsa Tiao.	"	Thiamène.	"	11
Ibra Dior.	"	N'Dande (Narbé)	"	21
Mamao Silla.	"	Nakhal-Mamiao	"	24
Mokhtar Marienna.	"	Tiapoura.	"	7
Mostafa Silla.	"	Darou Salam.	"	11
Amor Fal.	"	Niakhal-Boë.	"	8
Momar Silla.	"	Yohma.	"	11
Mokhtar Ougnane.	"	Ndeme.	"	7

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Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	Number of Talibés
Momar Mbaye.	Ouolof	Afia.	Amadou Bamba	21
Medoume Samba.	"	"	"	6
Diambar Diakhaté.	"	Méoumdou.	"	8
Saër Silla.	"	Fille Dramane	"	15
Ibra Silla.	"	"	"	20
Amadou Binta.	"	"	"	8
Mayacine Ballé.	"	Gouyard.	"	10
Mayacine Dieng.	"	" (Orig. from Maka).	"	20
Amadou Dié.	"	Darou Salam.	"	17
Amor Diakhaté.	"	"	"	15
Masilla Silla.	"	Masilla.	"	30
Alioun Touré.	"	Piré (now at Gossas).	"	50
Mostafa Ndiaye.	"	Diémoul.	"	8
Abdoulaye Dieng.	"	Gouyard.	"	18
Mousa Daro.	"	N'dèye.	"	13
Omar Silla.	"	Ouadia.	"	15
Ali Mané.	"	Meur Madiop.	"	9
Anta Sek.	"	Ndiol.	"	9
Ngagne Tendimé.	Moor	Darou Tendimé.	"	17
Ndiaga Diop.	Ouolof	Ndiob Botol.	"	
Moumar Comba.	"	Mbol	"	
Mbar Dior Siga.	"	Ndiouki (brother of Samba Laobé).	"	50
Anbar Fa.	"	id.	"	
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Issa Diène.	Ouolof.	Ndande.	Amadou Bamba	50

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Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	Number of Talibés
Province of Guet				
Ibra Fati.	Ouolof	Mbaké.	Amadou Bamba	100
Aramine Mbaké.	"	" (professor).	"	
Matar Binta.	"	Mbaké. (professor).	"	
Thiamba Sèye.	"	Mérine.	"	3
Medieng Dieng.	"	Ndiguène Bamé.	"	8
Momar Diop.	"	Guaéoul.	"	25
Mafari N'Diaye.	"	Baranrang.	"	10
Diéri Sougoufara.	Moor	Ouadane Guet.	"	
Mokhtar Sougoufara.	"	Mosseladje.	"	3
Abdou Kane.	Ouolof	Khébéré Guet.	"	20
Momar Ngoné Fal.	"	Ndiah Guéoul.	"	20
Ndiouga Fal.	"	Keur Amadou Yella.	"	2
Amadou Gaye.	"	Ngaye.	"	2
Aboudalaye Deme.	"	Toumba.	"	2
Medoune Dème.	"	"	"	4
Barra Ndiaye.	"	Tiamène.	"	3
Birahima Kodou Maram.	"	Tilmakha.	"	
Amadou Makhouria.	"	"	"	
Abdou Abbas.	"	Tilmakha (cousin of Lat Dior).	"	
Mokhtar Diop.	"	id.	"	

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Appendix No. 15
Circle of Louga
Enumeration of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

Provinces	Total Number of Murids	Moslems	General Total	Observations
Djolof.	300	36,895	36,895	
North Diambour	300	32,800	32,800	
South Diambour	150	14,678	14,678	
N'Guick Merina	150	14,582	14,582	
Gandiolais.	100	7,073	7,073	
	1,000	106,028	106,028	

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Appendix No. 16
Circle of Louga
List by provinces of the principal Murid marabouts, their origins, their residence, their spiritual fathers, and the number of their talibés.

Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	Number of Talibés
Province of Diolof:				
Abdou Kamara.	Ouolof.	Kamara.	Amadou Bamba	2
Alioun M'Baye.	"	Nboundiane.	"	2
Modo Sankhe.	"	Tiankhé.	"	2
Khali N'Diaye.	"	N'Diayène.	"	110
Diadé N'Dao.	"	Iagne Sagata.	"	8
Baba Fati M'Baye.	"	Mbaïene.	"	6
Alle Khari.	"	"	"	5

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Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	Number of Talibés
Province of North Diambour				
Ibra Guèye.	Ouolof	Keur Ali Sali.	Amadou Bamba	6
Momar Sikéna	"	Lamdou.	"	10
Code Lo.	"	Niomré-Diama.	"	8
Matar Binta Lo.	"	Niomré.	"	18
Medoune Dioumbé.	"	Coki.	"	4
Mansour Diao.	"	Thialène.	"	
Momar Diao.	"	Garki.	"	5
Amadou Anta.	"	Keur Medoune. Mbaye	" "	8
Ali N'Dak.	"	Coki.	"	6
Amadou Gaye.	"	Ndiagne.	"	6
Sheik Ibra Sar.	"	Thiarème.	"	40
Marouba Thioune.	"	Ndiagne.	"	3
Ndiao Fal.	"	Ouarak.	"	3
Medoune Samba.	"	Fadane.	"	3
Amadou Lo.	"	Keur Medoune Mbaye	"	4
Amadou Fal.	"	Ndiagne.	"	
Province of South Dianbour.				
Assane N'Diao.	Ouolof.	Darou.	Amadou Bamba	20/162/
Ballo Sek.	"	Thiène.	"	
Ma Diakhaté Lo.	"	Ndam.	"	2
Amadou Mokhtar Diakaté (ex-cadi).	"	"	"	

1: Marty--144 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS37
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Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	Number of Talibés
Macoumba Dia.	Ouolof.	Kaï Dio	Amadou Bamba.	2
Medieke Sek.	"	Thièkème.	"	
Momar Lo.	"	Keur Souley.	"	2
Omar Guèye.	"	Ngondiouro Diop	"	1
Amadou Sar.	"	"	"	7
Momar Sey.	"	Keur Mor Abdou	"	7
Mousa Fal.	"	Khiraoua.	"	
Amor Dia.	"	Keur Matar.	"	
Amor Samba.	"	Ndiamb.	"	
Stop of Louga.				
Ibra Kébi.	"	Louga.	"	10
Sheik Sandiaye Baye	"	"	"	4
Meklou Diao.	"	"	"	
Amadou Sarer (assessor at the tribunal, very favorable).	"	"	"	
Province of Nguick-Merina.				
Amadou Diop.	"	Tendé Biti.	Amadou Anta.	4
N'Diaou N'Diaye.	"	Bigaye.	Ibra Fal.	
Malik Sar.	"	Nguick.	Amadou Bamba.	5
Ibra Fal.	"	Ndabé.	Ibra Fal.	32
Amadou Khari Diaye.	Ouolof.	Roye.	Amadou Bamba.	2
Sidi Sar.	"	Ndiapal Sar.	Ibra Fal.	
Moulay Sar.	"	Keur Paté Siné	Amadou Bamba	10
Amadou Fal.	"	Nguick.	"	7
Amandou Sar.	"	Dabaye.	"	
Gandiolais. None.				

Appendix No. 17

List of Some of Amadou Bamba's Writings

مقدمات الامداح
في مزايا المفتاح

Premises of Praise, on the Privileges of the Key.

Religious poem. Printed pamphlet without a publisher's name.

منهج قضاء الحاج

The Way of Accomplishing the Necessities.

Ethical and educational work.

مغالف النيران
ومفاتح الجنان

The Keys that Close Hell and Open Paradise.

Moralistic work. A very faulty translation, without the name of the author, is in the Archives.

كتاب كنز المهتدين
في صلاة على خير المرسلين

The Book of the Treasure of Controlled Goods, on the Prayer to be Said about the Best of Prophets.

Philosophical, ethical, and pious work. Printed in Beirut in 1319 H. (1902 A. D.) under the care of Mahammed Rachid and Mostafa El-Halouani, of Beirut.

A few excerpts, from an excellent translation by M. Salenc, director of the Médersa of Saint-Louis, are in the Archives.

سعادة الطلاب
وراحة لطالب الاعراب

The Joy of the Student and the Peace of the Pupil in Syntax.

Grammatical work.

And finally, a large number of short poems (qacida قصيدة) in honor of the Prophet, of friendly marabouts, such as Sheik Sidia, and of sympathetic Europeans.

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Appendix No. 18
Special Litanies (*dikr*) of the Religious Order of the Bamba Murids

استغفر الله العظيم (ثلاثمائة مرة)	I seek forgiveness from the God of Majesty (300 times).
سبحان الله (ثلاثمائة مرة)	May God be glorified (300 times).
لا اله الا الله (ثلاثمائة مرة)	There is no deity but God (300 times).
اللهم صلى على سيدنا محمد وعلى اله وصحبه وسلم تسليما	O my God, pour out your blessings on our Lord Mohammed, on his family, on his companions. Grant them salvation !

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Appendix No. 19
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[For a discussion of Muridism, a sect of Islam, its beliefs and influence see category 116 in the MS37 Senegal File, pp. 1-50 and pp. 89-120.]

1: Marty Senegal MS37

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[For a discussion of Muridism, a sect of Islam, its beliefs and influence see category 116, pp. 1-146.]